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FERDINAND THE SEVENTH,
King of Spain.

HISTORY
OF THE
SPANISH REVOLUTION;
COMMENCING WITH
THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CORTES,
IN THE YEAR 1812
AND BROUGHT DOWN TO
ITS OVERTHROW BY THE FRENCH ARMS

BY JOSEPH HEMINGWAY.



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PREFACE

THE events which have distinguished the Peninsula, since its invasion by the late Emperor of France, have strongly interested the minds of the British public. With this struggle, the glory of England, and the emancipation of all the states of Europe, are identified. It was in that country where the gigantic power of Napoleon received its first check, and where his unnatural greatness received such a mortal wound, as led to his final overthrow.

Deriving the spirit of civil and political freedom from their unprincipled invaders, and acquiring an opportunity of exercising it from their defeat, the Spanish nation formed a political code, which, considering the errors that can never fail to attend a transition from centuries of slavery to a sudden state of liberty, has been applauded by men well versed in the science; and which, if suffered to have been carried into quiet operation, would have corrected its own discrepancies. The infatuated conduct of Ferdinand, after his return to a throne which had been preserved for him by the authors of the Constitution, blasted all the hopes which had been formed by the friends of a limited monarchy and a constitutional government. False to his promises, he disentangled himself from all his engagements, with the first opportunity that presented itself: actuated by bigotry, he drew around him an avaricious and disappointed priesthood, and pursued, with relentless fury, those who had laboured to circumscribe the enormous extravagancies of the hierarchy, for the good of the state: ambitious, he sought only the aggrandisement of the regal office, and exercised an indiscriminate vengeance against all who had sought to set up a government of law, against the capricious dictum of the sovereign: and, ignorant and imbecile, he waged war against principle and justice, until he produced a re-action in the army and the nation, which ended only in the re-establishment of the constitutional code. It was to effect the annihilation of this political structure, that the second invasion was projected by the Holy Alliance, and the execution of which devolved upon France.

Of the foregoing occurrences, and those that followed, to the period of the return of Ferdinand to Madrid, this work is given to the world as a history. It may be noted, that the military transactions form but an unimportant part of the work—and, indeed, events of this description afford but scanty materials to interest the general reader. On the other hand, the political affairs connected with the Spanish revolutions are pregnant with considerations of the highest moment. We are enabled distinctly to mark the progress made in the acquisition of enlightened sentiments, in a country long sunk in, and but lately emerging from, the darkness of ignorance and superstition; and to trace the capabilities of a comparatively weak nation, when inspired with a feeling of liberty, and a regard for independence. In the personal conduct of Ferdinand, the monarchs of the world will, or ought, to learn this important lesson, that sovereigns reign most securely, who command the affections, rather than excite the fear and dread, of their subjects. To an Englishman, who, because he possesses, knows how to estimate the blessings of a paternal government, the principles and conduct of the powers forming what is termed the Holy Alliance, will appear in their uncovered deformity; and in proportion as his hatred is excited against them, his affections and attachments will be more fixedly riveted to his native land,—where all

PREFACE.

the blessings of a well-regulated freedom flourish in perfection. We may also learn, what slender reliance is to be placed upon the hollow professions of diplomatic intercourse; how remote from sincerity and plain-dealing are the pretensions of ministers of state, when they have a favourite object to accomplish—exhibitions which abound in the official correspondence of the French government.

In collecting the materials for this history, the author has sustained some difficulties and inconveniences. Many of the transactions are of very recent date: access to information has, in some cases, been impossible; and in others, it has only been found recorded in the partial recitals of interested parties. It is assumed, however, that wherever accurate intelligence has been open to research, it has been diligently sought; and in cases where description has been known to proceed only from the pen of the partisan, caution has been given against the high colourings of partiality. In noticing the intercourse among those powers most intimately interested in the late struggle against Spain, as France, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, particular care has been taken to preserve the official documents, from which the reader will at once be led to mark the different principles and views by which they were respectively actuated. The military events of the campaign, which, as before observed, constitute the least interesting and important part of the work, have been given sometimes from the French, and sometimes from the Spanish official reports, both not unfrequently corrected from the narratives of others.

For the general state of the country, before the occurrence of the Spanish revolution, Laborde has been sometimes referred to; while its internal condition and political transactions, within the period which the work embraces, have been drawn, to a considerable extent, from the Letters of Doblado, the Anecdotes of Count Pecchio, and the still more excellent publication, entitled, "A Visit to Spain, by Mr. Quin." To these sources, among others, the author has also addressed himself, in furnishing the reader with the characters and notices of some of the individuals who have sustained a prominent figure in the late political events of that country. Of course it has been found necessary to consult a number of other authorities, but the above are named as the principal; and in their selection and arrangement, it has been an object carefully attended to, to preserve chronological correctness.

Perhaps the Author cannot better conclude this short address, than in the terms he employed on a former occasion, in submitting to the world a publication of greater magnitude:—Of the *manner* in which the present History is executed, the Author presumes not to speak;—this is a subject on which the Public has the only right to decide—and to *their* decision he will bow with respectful deference. He may be allowed, however, to say, that it has been his invariable desire to give a fair narrative of the occurrences which have come under his view, without addition, mutilation, or partiality. Nor does he fear that the voice of censure can justly be raised against him for the want of industry, in consulting the various documents to which any access could be had. But, without further remark, the work itself is now before its proper tribunal, and it will be judged of more by *what it is*, than what can be *said* about it.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SPANISH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

Native Courage of the Spanish Character—Baneful Influence of the Priesthood—Various Causes which operated to produce more liberal Views of political Rights—Collision of conflicting Principles—Short Retrospection of Events—Invasion of Portugal, and military Possession of Spain—Quarrel between King Charles the Fourth and his son Ferdinand—The former abdicates the Crown—Buonaparte decoys them both to Bayonne, where they renounce their Title to the Spanish Throne, and are sent into France.

IN all their struggles against foreign aggression, an invincible spirit of courage and independence has ever distinguished the Spanish people: and yet, perhaps, no nation has borne with such passive submission, during a period of three centuries, the galling tyranny of internal oppression. This apparent anomaly of character, however, may be easily reconciled, by distinguishing between their native energies when directed against foreign enemies, and their views and habits acquired from a misdirection of their minds, formed upon the basis of *divine right*, as resident in their spiritual superiors and civil governors. Instructed only in an implicit submission to the formula of the *celestial hierarchy*, the priesthood governed their conscience with supreme authority; and, taught to look only to the will of the monarch, as exhibited in the royal edicts, for the measure of their

obsequiousness, they had no conceptions of political rights or civil equality.*

Such was the moral and intellectual condition of Spain, when the French Revolution burst forth before the astonished world. Immediately joined to France in its geographical situation, the two monarchies assimilated in their political institutions, and cemented by ties which seemed to identify the interests of one with the other, Spain of course became deeply interested in the events which that important phenomenon exhibited. It is certain, however, that revolutionary principles and doctrines were more tardy in their progress, and less powerful in their influence, throughout Spain, than perhaps in the more remote states of Europe. The reasons of this fact may be found in the preceding remarks in reference to the people's extreme indisposition to adopt principles at variance with those they had been accustomed to entertain, and in the difficulty of divesting themselves of those predilections which it was the business and interest of their superiors to confirm.

It will not be controverted, however, that to this era must be ascribed the first visible change in the public opinion of Spain. In every nation, however generally sunk in mental imbecility or moral degradation, there are always to be found individuals of superior intellect and penetration, who have escaped the common prejudices, and raised them-

* A tolerable idea of the notions entertained by the clergy, of subserviency to authority, may be formed by the following instance adduced by Mr. Blaquiere in his "Historical Review," and also of the grounds upon which those notions are formed. "A writer," says he, "to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, relates, that having once endeavoured to persuade a dignitary of the church of the advantages which would arise from establishing a greater degree of equality among the members of the body politic, he replied, 'Is it possible, my friend, that a man of your judgment can agree with those fools (alluding to the *Liberales*) who pretend to establish such a principle, forgetting that the inmates of heaven itself are not equal either as to happiness or pre-eminence, since they are divided into saints, archangels, seraphim, and cherubim!' This well-intentioned man," adds the writer, "is adorned with the purest moral and religious virtues; and so anxious was he to remove the delusion under which I laboured, that he repeatedly urged me to abjure my false notions, as the only means of avoiding perdition."

selves above the errors and superstitions, of their countrymen. The disgraceful transactions, indeed, which accompanied the early period of the French Revolution presented no very imposing specimen in favour of political change; yet the reflecting part of the Spanish nation would easily distinguish between the goodness of a cause, and the evils or excesses which had incidentally proceeded from it. A variety of publications, emanating from the French press, and which, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the Spanish authorities, had found their way into the kingdom, exposed the vices of despotic governments, and bared to public inspection the misery and wretchedness of a people sacrificed to the interests and ambition of the privileged orders. The interdiction of publicity to these writings created, as it always must, an increased excitement for their perusal; while, in a very short time, several illustrious literary characters in Spain, among whom were Jovellanos and Cabarrus, attracted the national attention, by their patriotic publications, to the necessity and advantages of an improved government.

Another circumstance in preparing the Spanish nation for a due appreciation of the blessings of freedom, is to be found in the intercourse which the invasion by Napoleon introduced between his numerous armies and the inhabitants: for whatever hostility there might exist in a great portion of the Spanish population, against the military occupation of their country by a foreign enemy, yet the comparatively liberal constitution established by King Joseph, and the moderate course of his general policy, could not fail to produce a favourable impression, when they were viewed in contrast with their previous institutions, and the conduct of their despotic monarchs.*

* Buonaparte must have been well aware that it would be impracticable to establish a new dynasty in Spain without engaging the popular feeling, and bettering the condition of the people. The very first measure of the emperor proved that he was impressed with this conviction. I allude to the abolition of that tribunal of blood, to which the whole nation had long attributed all its evils. The time and place chosen for issuing the decree greatly enhanced its value in the estimation of the people, and shewed how well Napoleon knew how to secure

A third cause which powerfully operated in imbuing the people with a knowledge and love of constitutional freedom, and effecting a mental revolution, arose from the enlightened discussions in the Cortes of 1810, where many individuals distinguished themselves as the true friends of their country and of mankind.

From this short review, it will obviously appear how galling the base and treacherous proceedings of Ferdinand would be to the generality of the Spanish nation, after returning from an exile from which the courageous and persevering conduct of these patriots had rescued him; and how powerful the tendency to an alienation of attachment to his person and government, when they saw that the shafts of persecution and the weapons of superstition were directed with unrelenting fury against the very individuals who had been chiefly instrumental in delivering the throne from foreign usurpation, and the nation from domestic vassallage and degradation. It is true, these important acquisitions had been gained by sacrificing the baneful influence and personal interests of an imbecile aristocracy, and the hateful domination of an abominable priesthood; of the latter especially, who absorbed in themselves an immense revenue, no less injurious to the prosperity, than inimical to the liberties of the people.*

popular applause. Reaching Chamartin, within a few leagues of Madrid, on the second of December, 1808, the anniversary of his coronation, the decree was promulgated there on that very day, and is said to have had a wonderful effect in accelerating the cause of King Joseph. It was a saying of Buonaparte, in speaking of the Spanish people in reference to this famous decree, that their descendants would one day raise altars to his name. It is no more than an act of justice to say, that whatever measure of censure is attributable to the French ruler for his forcible possession of Spain, he is deserving of high praise for being the first who struck at the root of the evils which had long afflicted that country.

* Referring to the abuses existent in the old clerical system of Spain, a late publication places them in a most prominent point of light. The number of monks of all colours and denominations, barefooted and bareheaded, with their attendants, at the period of Spain's recent liberation, was little less than 90,000; while the secular clergy, including the various dignitaries and attendants, exceeded 80,000. This number is independent of 5000 nuns. According to an estimate

Under these circumstances, it became very evident to close observation, that the time was at hand when liberal principles of government, and an attachment to old abuses, would form the elements of conflicting warfare; and as the advocates of each had every thing that was deemed valuable to gain or to lose, the collision was likely to become ardent and obstinate: that it would elicit, on the one hand, all the exertions which jesuitical craft could employ upon weak and superstitious minds; and, on the other, the most determined efforts to rouse the patriotic feelings of the country in favour of national liberty. The operation of these causes was discernible in Spain as early as the year 1808; the struggle between the opposite principles was yet more clearly developed in 1814, when kingly and priestly despotism had at least a temporary but fatal triumph; and not less so from the latter epoch to the memorable period of 1820, when a brighter prospect opened itself to the hopes of the patriots. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, although the cause of Spanish independence then obtained a signal triumph, the enemies of the constitution have not ceased to put in motion all their machinations to bring back upon the country all the curses of regal tyranny and ecclesiastical domination.

by Cabarrus, presented to Joseph Buonaparte in 1809, the clergy possessed a fourth of the whole capital of the kingdom; while their annual revenue amounted to 750,000,000 of reals; that is to say, as much as it costs to support the army and navy, diplomatic agents, administration of justice, and collection of the revenue! But there were various and very considerable benefits, arising from donations, legacies, and what the mendicant orders collect, which are not included in the above sum. The system of plunder to which Spain has been exposed from the court of Rome, fully accounts for the efforts made to oppose the constitution in that quarter. What with the price paid for bulls, dispensations, plenary indulgences, fines on taking orders, pensions, &c. there is no possibility of calculating the real sum drawn from the people by this crying abuse. To give a distant idea of its extent, it need only be mentioned, that one of the pensions paid annually from the fund called *La Santissima Cruzada*, for supporting the establishment of the Vatican, amounted to no less a sum than 15,000 Spanish dollars! Various other sums, not much inferior to this, were also paid from the same source; though the money thus extracted from poor Spain was levied on the most indigent classes of the people.

These preliminary observations have been deemed necessary, in order to introduce the reader advantageously to the more immediate object of the work, which is to exhibit a succinct view of the interesting occurrences of Spain, especially in relation to its political struggles for constitutional freedom. The circumstances attendant on the French invasion—the history of the battles and sieges which occurred during the six years following, with the final expulsion of the enemy from the territory—have been recorded in innumerable publications. The recital of these transactions will therefore form no prominent part of the plan of the present work. But, though I thus exclude myself from a circumstantial narrative of the events of the Spanish invasion, it will be quite necessary to take a short retrospection—to review them in their commencement, advert to them in their progress, and shew their bearings on and connexion with the patriotic efforts of the great liberators of their country. Having premised my intention, it shall be my present business to glance at the situation and transactions of the country at a somewhat earlier period than that fixed upon for more extended historical notice.

After the French emperor had, by successful hostility in 1807, forced upon Russia and Prussia the peace of Tilsit, by which both these powers agreed to adopt the most rigorous anti-commercial measures against Great Britain, and while the whole of continental Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France, a favourable opening presented itself to Napoleon to possess himself of Spain and Portugal—a policy, however, which eventually proved fatal to that grand scheme he had obviously adopted, for universal empire.* The former kingdom, indeed, by the imbecility and treachery of the infamous Godoy, first minister of Spain, had given sufficient evidences of the most humiliating compliances with the designs of the French ruler, and did not appear indisposed to carry its submission so far as to com-

* Count Las Cases, in his "Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of Napoleon," puts into his mouth the following admission, in reference to the Spanish war:—"That unlucky war ruined me; it divided my forces, obliged me to multiply my efforts, and caused my principles to be assailed."

promise its own independence. As to Portugal, she was the ancient ally of Great Britain; and although, to satisfy the demands of France, and preserve her neutrality, she had at a great sacrifice closed her ports against England, an army of 40,000 Frenchmen were assembled at Bayonne to invade her, the talismanic denunciation had been pronounced by Napoleon—"The house of Braganza has ceased to reign," the troops advanced upon Lisbon, and the twenty-ninth of November presented a new spectacle to the world—that of an European monarch and his court flying from his capital to seek an asylum in his distant dominions. The Portuguese fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail, in which were embarked about 18,000 individuals, had scarcely quitted the Tagus, when the invading army made its appearance on the heights before the capital. It should be noted, that Napoleon had drawn Spain into an acquiescence with this measure, by a secret treaty concluded at Fontainebleau in the preceding October. To reward the devotedness and servility of Godoy to the French interests, it was stipulated in this treaty, that the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of Algarva should be allotted to him in sovereignty.

By the introduction of his army into Spain, Buonaparte had prepared his way for the accomplishment of his ulterior purposes. On various pretences, he obtained possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona; and, by the end of the year, had an army in the interior of not less than 70,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry. He had besides drawn from that country, in virtue of existing treaties, about 16,000 of its best troops, and placed them in the north of Germany, where they were rendered incapable of interfering with his views.

The dissensions in which the court of Madrid was at this time involved, materially tended to serve the purposes of Buonaparte. The Prince of Asturias, the heir apparent, had seen with disgust the scandalous affection which the queen* had manifested for Don Manuel Godoy, and the

* The queen of Charles the Fourth, who was a daughter of the late Duke of Parma, appears in her general conduct to have paid little regard either to her sex or high station. Her amours long formed the subject of free observation in every court and every country of

decided influence which that favourite maintained over the weak mind of the king, as well as the unbounded authority that he had usurped in the Spanish dominions. The results of this disgust were the most inveterate quarrels between him and the royal parents. What tended to widen the breach was a proposal, thought to originate with the minister, that Ferdinand, having lost his first wife, should marry a niece of the wife of Godoy—a proposal which the prince resented; and he is said to have secretly written a letter to the French ruler, expressing a wish to marry one of his relations. A few days after he had taken this step, he was arrested and imprisoned, on a charge of conspiring against the sovereignty of his father, and of a design against his mother's life. This transaction is still involved in mystery. Godoy found, however, that the cause of Ferdinand was extremely popular with the people, and that he himself was becoming proportionably odious to them: he therefore prevailed upon the prince to make some kind of acknowledgments, induced the father and mother to accept them, and Ferdinand was set at liberty.

Europe. Doblado's "Letters from Spain," a work just published, exhibit her character for intrigue and gallantry in a very disgusting view. This author gives us a circumstantial history of her amours, not only with Don Manuel Godoy, but with three or four other favourites, with whom she intrigued, without paying much respect to outward decorum. The old king, however, does not seem to have been annoyed with any acute sensibility of feeling: his royal consort exercised a commanding influence over him, which furnished her with easy facilities in promoting the honours and interests of her paramours. The following anecdote, which is given in the tenth letter of Doblado's work, pretty strongly shews how confident and secure Charles felt in the fidelity of his consort.—"The old Duke de J—— (on the authority of whose lady I give you the anecdote) was once, with other grandees, in attendance on the king, when his majesty, being in high gossiping humour, entered into a somewhat gay conversation on the fair sex. He descanted at some length on their fickleness and caprice; and laughed at the dangers of husbands in these southern climates. Having had his fill of merriment on the topic of jealousy, he concluded with an air of triumph, '*We crowned heads have this chief advantage over others, that our honour, as they call it, is safe; for supposing that queens were as much bent on mischief as some of their sex, where could they find kings and emperors to flirt with? Eh?*'"

Buonaparte had so effectually wrought upon the fears of the old Spanish monarch, by a policy at one time directly offensive, and at another enveloped in mystery, as to induce him to attempt following the example of the King of Portugal, by emigrating to Mexico. In furtherance of this object, on the seventeenth of March, 1808, he had privately made all the necessary preparations, when, on a discovery of his intentions being made by the people, they ran in crowds, and surrounded the palace, determined to prevent the execution of the scheme. The populace were roused to fury, and a violent tumult ensued. Godoy was seized and imprisoned, as the supposed author of the plan; and, on the following day, the king announced, that he had permitted the minister to resign all his employments. On the nineteenth, his majesty promulgated a decree, stating, that, in consequence of his habitual infirmities, and his wish to enjoy a private life, he had abdicated the throne in favour of the Prince of Asturias, and commanded the nation thenceforward to obey Ferdinand as their sovereign.

All the foreign ministers, except those of France, hastened to congratulate the young king on his accession. The latter affected a sullen silence, excusing themselves by saying, they must wait instructions from their master. In the mean time, Murat received orders to march his troops on the Spanish capital: and, on the evening of the twenty-third of March, he entered Madrid with a numerous staff; the imperial guards, and a large body of cavalry and infantry, remaining encamped on the surrounding heights. From this moment, French policy was actively employed in alternate intimidations and flatteries towards Charles and Ferdinand. The former now affirmed, that his abdication was extorted, and appealed for justice against his son to Napoleon; while Ferdinand was assured by the French ministers, that if he would confide his interests to their master, a recognition of his title to the crown would immediately follow.

I shall not stop to notice the various diplomatic manœuvres employed on the hopes and fears of the royal father and son, in order to effectuate an important object contemplated by the French ruler, which was no other than to draw them both into his own hands. Under an assurance

that Buonaparte was on his way to pay a visit to Madrid, which subsequently proved to be a deception, General Savary, who had been directed to decoy Ferdinand, prevailed upon him to advance towards the frontiers, and compliment his illustrious visitor and ally on his approach. The prince fell into the snare. He had been led to expect that he should meet Buonaparte at Burgos; but, on his arrival there, there was no appearance of the French emperor. He was pressed to proceed on to Vittoria; and when he reached that place, some suspicious movements among the French troops rendered it obvious to him and his retinue, that he had no alternative but to go on to Bayonne with the appearance of his own voluntary choice, or be compelled by force. On the twentieth of April, Ferdinand entered the latter city, where Buonaparte had already arrived; and, after some unmeaning compliments between them, Savary was commissioned to announce to the young prince, that the emperor had irrevocably determined, that the dynasty of the Bourbons should no longer reign in Spain—that it was to be succeeded by his own—and, consequently, his imperial majesty required, that Ferdinand should, in his own name and that of all his relations, renounce the crown of Spain, and of the Indies, in favour of the French emperor and his family. The resistance made by Ferdinand to this demand, through his ministers Cevallos and Labrador, determined Napoleon to draw the old king to Bayonne, with a view of extorting this renunciation from him. Accordingly, he directed Murat to cause Charles and his queen to set off for that city; and, as the former made the release of Godoy from prison a stipulation for his compliance, Murat, by his own authority, released the ex-minister, and Charles and his consort arrived at Bayonne on the thirtieth of April. Buonaparte was completely successful in bringing the royal father to his views: he prevailed upon him formally to renounce his title; and, subsequently, brought Ferdinand to an acquiescence in the same abandonment.* As soon as the different members

* The commonly reported infamy of the Queen of Spain, in declaring that Ferdinand was not the son of the king—the stratagems

of the royal family had answered the purpose for which they were brought together at Bayonne, they were successively dismissed to the interior of France, from the scene of Buonaparte's operations, in which other characters were destined to play the parts assigned to them.

imputed to Buonaparte, in fomenting the quarrels between Charles and his son—and the force said to have been used by Napoleon to induce Ferdinand to sign the act of abdication—are all denied by the French emperor. So, at least, says Barry O'Meara, in his 'Voice from St. Helena,' in the following extract taken from his diary.—“Had some conversation with him (Napoleon) relative to Spain. I asked, if it were true, that the queen had said to Ferdinand in his presence, that he was *her* son, but not the son of the king, thus proclaiming her own infamy? Napoleon assured me, that she had never made use of such expressions before him; that she had told him, he was not worthy to be the son of a king. I observed, that it had been asserted, that he had offered to give Ferdinand one of his relations in marriage, and make him king of Naples, to marry another of his relations to Don Carlos, and to grant him a sovereignty. Napoleon replied, 'All these assertions are false. Ferdinand himself repeatedly asked me to give him one of my relations in marriage; but I never asked him.' I said, that, in a publication of great circulation, it was broadly asserted, that he had given Ferdinand the choice between abdication and death; that in consequence of this, and the threats of King Charles against himself and his followers, he had abdicated. 'That is also false,' replied Napoleon; 'there was no threat made use of, or compulsion, * * * * * The fact is, that had it not been for their broils and quarrels among themselves, I should never have thought of dispossessing them.' I said, that some of the publications against him asserted, that he had been the contriver of the whole himself, that he might take advantage of it afterwards. 'A man like me,' replied the emperor, 'is always either *uno dio* or *un diavolo*, (a god or a devil.) It is as true as is the assertion, that I brought over Pichegru and Georges to Paris, purposely to ruin Moreau. When I saw those *imbecilles* quarrelling, and trying to dethrone each other, I thought that I might as well take advantage of it, and dispossess an inimical family; but I was not the contriver of their disputes. Had I known, at first, that the transaction would have given me so much trouble, or that it would ever have cost me the lives of two hundred men, I never would have attempted it; but being once embarked, it was necessary to go forward.'”

CHAPTER II.

Popular Ferment at Madrid—Massacre of the second of May—King Joseph proclaimed—Resistance of the Provinces to French Domination—Appointment of provincial Juntas—Central Junta of Seville—Its patriotic Addresses to the Nation—Succours from England—Takes Refuge in Cadiz—Military Operations against that Place—Assembling of the National Cortes—The patriotic Labours of this Body—Sketch of the Guerilla Chiefs—Mina—Legitimacy denied to the Spanish Constitution—Its principal Articles—Defence of it.

FROM the time that Ferdinand quitted Madrid, and especially when intelligence was received of his having passed the frontiers, the people of the capital manifested strong symptoms of suspicion and discontent. These irritations were further increased, after Charles and his consort had followed the same track; to which the circumstance of Godoy's liberation, under the authority of Murat alone, and against the will of the populace, greatly contributed.

Towards the latter end of April, either by means of private letters from the individuals in the retinue of Ferdinand, or some other sources of intelligence, the people of Madrid received obscure hints of the events passing on the other side of the Pyrenees. These intimations gradually laid open the true state of the case, until it was generally surmised that the French ruler intended to effect some important alteration in the government. The day fixed for the departure of the Queen of Etruria, daughter of Charles the Fourth, and her brother, Don Francisco, to Bayonne, was the second of May; but it had also been reported, that Don Antonio, president of the junta, was to accompany them; and when one of the carriages which was to convey the former illustrious personages drew up in the front of the palace, the people who were there assembled imagined that it was for Don Antonio. Under this misconception, they cut the traces of the carriage, and forced it back into the court-yard; but being assured that Don Antonio was not going to abandon them, they suffered the horses to be again put to it, and the carriages,

with the Queen of Etruria and her brother, were permitted to proceed. Don Francisco, a boy of fourteen, was observed to weep bitterly—a circumstance which instantly awakened the sympathy of the populace, and roused their resentment, which manifested itself in a disposition to riot. A detachment of French soldiers now made its appearance on the spot; and dreadful confusion, attended with horrible carnage, ensued. The French discharged their pieces, and by these volleys a number of Spaniards were killed and wounded. An account of this procedure flew on the wings of indignation to all parts of the city; and the lower classes, seizing such weapons as they could find, rushed in multitudes through the streets to attack the objects of their enmity, of whom they killed considerable numbers, and seized their arms. All the French forces in Madrid were called out, and, by repeated discharges of musketry, and grape-shot from the artillery, cleared the squares and streets. The French cavalry also bore a distinguished part in this scene of slaughter, as they charged the populace several times. The people, broken and overcome by their opponents, fled in different directions, followed by the French, who fired down the cross-streets, as they passed along, and at the windows and balconies of the houses, from whence they had been galled by the fire of the Spaniards, after they had been driven from the streets. Many of the houses were broken open, and the fugitives were put to the sword. The havock was the greatest at the Sun-Gate, in the street of Alcala, and in the great square. A body of Spaniards had made for the arsenal, where there were arms for ten thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. Before they could provide themselves with the muskets, they were attacked by a French regiment; but two officers of Spanish artillery, Vilorde and Doaiz, with a few artillery-men, had time to bring out a four-and-twenty pounder, which they pointed so as to enfilade a long narrow lane leading to the gate of the place. The discharge of grape from this piece occasioned such carnage amongst the assailants, that they were obliged to send for reinforcements; and two French columns came to their assistance. Vilorde perished by a musket-shot. Doaiz, although his thigh was broken, con-

tinued to encourage his men, and give the necessary orders with composure, till he received three other wounds, the last of which terminated his existence. The united force of the French at length subdued the Spaniards, and the arsenal was taken. About two o'clock in the afternoon, some kind of order was restored, by the exertions of the council of Castile and the other tribunals, who, attended by several Spanish noblemen, and some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry, both Spanish and French, rode along the streets, for the purpose of restraining the mutual animosity of the people and their sanguinary oppressors. The tumult was, in fact, suppressed; but not the work of death. Murat directed military tribunals to be formed, by which all the prisoners taken by the French were ordered to be shot. This sentence was executed in the evening of this lamentable day. At night, the inhabitants were compelled to illuminate their houses, to prevent the possibility of a new insurrection, attended with the horrors of darkness. The next morning, and for two succeeding days, numerous apprehensions of unfortunate individuals took place. These victims of cruelty were hurried before the bloody tribunals established by the French, condemned on the most doubtful evidence, and shot in groups in various parts of the city and its environs. It is impossible to ascertain the number of Spaniards who perished on the day of the insurrection, or by the subsequent massacres, though it must unquestionably have been great: as to the French, it was certainly considerable; but, according to the invariable custom of that people, when they relate their misfortunes, it was represented to be trifling.

I have been the more circumstantial in narrating the massacre of Madrid, as it was, in fact, the first occurrence that gave rise to that spirit of Spanish energy so eminently conspicuous in their subsequent conduct, and which not only directed itself against the invaders, but in organizing and maintaining an improvement in their internal affairs. If the first impulse given to the national feeling arose immediately from the treachery of foreign policy, there is no doubt but a determination for national reform very soon associated itself in the minds of the Spaniards. The junta

of government at Madrid, indeed, from the force of circumstances, offered no resistance to the domination of the enemy. Murat had caused himself to be appointed president; the junta yielded to necessity; and, in obedience to the extorted recommendation of Charles and Ferdinand, yielded to the demand of Buonaparte, that his brother Joseph should succeed to the crown. Napoleon convoked an assembly of the principal nobility and clergy at Bayonne, whom he easily prevailed upon to sanction his views, and brought them into an acquiescence with the basis of a new government. It was now that the French ruler thought it no longer necessary to conceal his ulterior designs: and he therefore published an address to the Spanish nation, announcing the new dynasty.

No sooner were these proceedings known in the different provinces of Spain, than a spirit of patriotic indignation pervaded the whole country. The idea of being tamely transferred, by their imbecile government at Madrid, to the dominion of a foreign family, stung the pride, and roused the dormant dignity, of the people. Although Asturias and Galicia first took measures to counteract the designs of the haughty oppressor, the other provinces became animated with the same ardour in such rapid succession, as to prove that one common sentiment of independence invigorated every division of the kingdom. In the principal cities of most of the provinces, juntas were speedily formed, for the provisional administration of affairs, and to direct the energies of the inhabitants. These assemblies published proclamations and addresses to their countrymen, inciting them to defend their rights, and vindicate their insulted honour. They recalled to their recollection the heroic actions of their ancestors, and the noble struggles they had maintained against the Moors, in the cause of freedom and religion. The daring and faithless conduct of Buonaparte was painted with all the correctness of truth, but in the most glowing colours. The artifices by which he had drawn the Spanish troops to the north of Europe, and decoyed the royal family to Bayonne, were placed in the strongest light.—“It were better,” said the junta of Galicia, “to die in defence of our religion and

fire-sides, and in our own country, than to be led bound to slaughter, in order to satisfy inordinate ambition."

In every part of Spain, except the two Castiles, Catalonia, and Navarre, the burst of patriotic feeling displayed itself. Some excesses were committed in different places, before regular assemblies were organized; but a spirit of order quickly succeeded to the appointment of proper authorities.

The account of the formation and conduct of the junta of Seville, is intimately connected with our history, as it formed the germ of the government, which was subsequently transferred to Cadiz, where the regency and national cortes, in spite of all the efforts of the whole power of France, maintained the national independence, and organized a code of laws denominated "The Spanish Constitution."

The junta of Seville was constituted on the twenty-seventh of May; and on this assembly, the other provisional authorities, by tacit consent, conferred the supreme direction of affairs. Seville was peculiarly well calculated to be the seat of government on this occasion, on account of many advantages which Andalusia had, at the time, over other provinces. It possessed the only foundry for cannon in the kingdom; it abounded in arms and military stores; more veteran troops were collected in it than in other parts; and, independent of its numerous population and wealth, it was remote from the presence and influence of the French armies. The junta having proclaimed Ferdinand as their king, in his name declared war against France. They established subordinate juntas in all cities and towns subject to their jurisdiction, consisting of 2000, or more, householders; and these corporations were to enlist all the inhabitants, from the age of sixteen to that of forty-five, for the service of the country. They next published their admirable rules for the conduct of the Spaniards in the hostilities that were to be commenced against the French, under the title of "Precautions." The first object which they recommended was, the avoidance of all general actions, and the adoption of a war of partisans, by embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies for want of provisions, by destroying bridges, throwing up entrench-

ments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its numerous mountains, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, they justly observed, pointed out this species of warfare as the most advantageous. The assembly addressed the people of Madrid in the most cordial terms. "Seville," said they, "has learned, with consternation and surprise, the dreadful catastrophe which has occurred in your city. She has seen with horror the weakness of a government which did nothing in your favour, and which ordered arms to be directed against you. The Spanish blood shed in Madrid calls aloud for vengeance! Comfort yourselves; we are your brethren. Assist us with your good wishes, and your continual prayers offered up to the Most High, who can never forsake us, because he never forsakes those whose motives are just. Should any favourable opportunity offer, exert yourselves, as valiant Spaniards, to shake off the ignominious yoke imposed on you, with the slaughter of so many of your innocent fellow-citizens, and with a perfidy detestable beyond example."

The Spaniards, in their present circumstances, looked towards Great Britain for assistance. Deputies from Asturias arrived in England on the 9th of June, to solicit succour. They did not solicit any military force to aid them, as they declared it was not requisite; but money, arms, ammunition, and clothing: and these were furnished by the British ministry in abundance, as well as with expedition. The English nation welcomed the deputies of Asturias, and those of the other Spanish provinces, who soon afterwards reached London, with every demonstration of hospitality and enthusiastic sympathy in their cause. The supplies which they required were furnished to them with friendly zeal by the government; and on the 4th of July, an order of council announced that all hostilities with Spain should immediately cease.

It has already been observed, that the present work is not designed to embrace the sanguinary struggles which characterized the Peninsular war. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that the skill and courage of the British army, aided by the spirited conduct of the Spanish

people,* and the confidence inspired by the persevering firmness of the cortes, finally prevailed over the gigantic efforts of Napoleon; and that at the close of the year 1813, not an enemy remained upon the soil, except such as were prisoners of war. It will be necessary, however, in order to arrive by a natural connection at the events at Madrid in the early part of the year 1814, when the Spanish constitution was proclaimed, to notice the military operations of the enemy before Cadiz, with a view of marking the occurrences of its liberation. To the patriotic addresses of the chief junta at Seville, and the noble defence made by the patriots of that city, the cause of Spanish independence is essentially indebted. In 1810, indeed, Seville yielded to the colossal power of France; but not until the energies and spirit of its legislators had been transferred to, and found a still more secure asylum in, the Isle of Leon.

* Obligated as I am, in pursuance of the plan I have prescribed to myself, to pass over innumerable instances of heroism displayed by the Spaniards, yet it would be almost unpardonable to omit, in any work that would admit its record, the noble and patriotic defence made by the city of Saragossa, under the brave Palafox. In this instance, I gladly avail myself of the labours of a gentleman, from whom I have already quoted, and to whose information I shall subsequently have frequent occasion to refer. He passed through this city in the year 1820, and thus alludes to the memorable event. "My approach to Saragossa naturally awakened all those recollections of wonder and admiration which its heroic efforts are so well calculated to call forth. The various and intrepid struggles made by this celebrated place, from the remotest periods of Spanish history down to its memorable defence in 1808, were present to my mind. When I reached the suburb, and perceived that there was not even a parapet to prevent the approach of an enemy, I could not help exclaiming to those around me, 'Is it possible, that this can be the place which stood two regular sieges, repulsed an army of thirty thousand men in the first instance, and was obliged to submit to a still greater force only through the effects of famine and disease?'—'Yes,' said one of the party, pointing to a height called Torrero, on the right, and then to the left bank of the Ebro, 'I myself witnessed a combined attack made from those two positions by the army of Marshal Lefebvre, and repelled, after a most sanguinary conflict of ten hours' continued fighting; during which, we had not ten thousand regular troops, not one well-constructed battery, to oppose a force of more than double that number, fully provided, and prepared for conducting a formal

Some months passed, after the occupation of Seville by the French, before they quite obtained possession of the provinces of the south. Gibraltar supplied the patriots with arms and ammunition, and became a depôt for their prisoners, and an occasional point of support to their operations. Marshal Soult, however, ultimately succeeded in confining the Spanish troops in the Island of Leon; and to this important point his undivided efforts were subsequently directed.

The Island of Leon is of some extent; and, for the sake of illustration, may be called of a triangular form, two sides of it being washed either by the harbour or the ocean, and, consequently, secure from the attacks of a land force. The third side, about eight miles in extent, is merely separated from the continent by a channel from eighty to an hundred and fifty yards in width, called the San Pedro river. Over this channel, the only communication to the country connects

siege!—Owing to the events which succeeded the king's return in 1814, many parts of the city still present an undistinguishable heap of ruins. A decree of the supreme junta, promulgated soon after the first attack, awarded various honours and rewards to the brave defenders, and the town itself was to be exempted from the payment of taxes for ten years: but this, like all the other decrees of the patriotic government, was consigned to oblivion; and Saragossa has been suffered to feel all the evils arising out of a struggle, that can be compared only to those of Numantia and Saguntum. Most of the houses in the *Coso*, or main street, are perforated with innumerable bullets, fired by the contending parties. While the Spaniards possessed one side, and their opponents the other, it frequently happened, that a party of French and Spanish met, and disputed possession of the same house; and, on one occasion, fifteen hundred of the enemy, who had penetrated far into the *Coso*, were sacrificed in the course of two hours. If any traits could be cited, to mark the national character of Spain, they will be found in the resolution manifested by the females of Saragossa: not contented with performing all the duties of the soldiery—by serving the cannon, bearing arms, and throwing up works—they forced their children to co-operate in the defence; and but for these heroic women, little doubt is entertained that the city would have been much more easily reduced. As the people of Saragossa must be strongly imbued with the love of glory, it is some consolation for them to reflect, that, if not enriched by their heroism and constancy, they have acquired imperishable fame; while their defence will serve as a bright example to present times and future generations.”

with a causeway artificially formed through a broad and difficult marsh, which every where bounds the land frontier of the island. At the apex of the triangle, or point furthest removed from the continent, a low narrow tongue of land stretches out four miles into the ocean, at the extremity of which stands the town of Cadiz, strongly fortified, and presenting to the attack of an enemy only one front of fortification, which occupies the whole breadth of the isthmus. The Spaniards collected 15,000 troops for the defence of the island, and an auxiliary force of 6000 or 7000 British and Portuguese soon came to their aid, under Sir Thomas Graham. That officer, with great labour and ability, constructed a line of defensive works behind the river San Pedro, occupying the Caraccas as an advanced post on the left, and extending to the ocean on the right. The French, on their part, spared no pains to secure their cantonments: they fortified with care Puerto Real, Puerto St. Maria, and Chiclana; formed entrenched camps in the intermediate spaces; but, above all, they strengthened the point of Trocadero, where they established batteries, which, at long and uncertain ranges, occasionally threw shells into the town. Against a place so well fortified, the French could carry their offensive operations no further; and their opponents were as incapable of offering annoyance.

Of the members of the central junta of Seville, who had fled from that place, three and twenty of them united at Cadiz, on the 29th of January, 1811, and attempted to resume their authority; but neither the local junta of that place, the army, nor the populace, seemed inclined to acknowledge their supreme authority: upon which, they resigned their power, and appointed a regency of five persons to carry on the government, till the cortes should be assembled. Much obloquy was cast upon the junta, and it has been thought undeservedly, for want of energy. The difficulties they had to contend with were indeed formidable, and such as a sanguine people, who looked to the accomplishment of their wishes, rather than to the probable means of realizing them, were ill prepared to appreciate.

The junta, on quitting the direction of public affairs,

published an address to the nation, from which the following passages are selected, to shew the nature of their apologies. —“When the government of the country was committed to our charge, our armies, half organized, were destitute of every thing; our treasury was empty, and our resources distant and uncertain. Before we had time to act, the despot of France poured through the Pyrenees the most formidable military force ever known; his veteran legions, better provided, and far the most numerous, surrounded our disjointed armies; and, in a moment, Spain lost half her defenders. The re-organization of those forces, and the creation of other armies, have absorbed all the resources since then at our command. Wherever our authority extended, there has perfect liberty and justice prevailed; and, even throughout the provinces occupied by the enemy, we have endeavoured, through many secret channels, to keep alive the fire of patriotism. We have upheld the national honour in the most delicate negotiations; always manfully bearing up against adversity, ever trusting that we should overcome it by constancy. It is true, we have committed many errors; and we would, were it possible, redeem them with our blood: but, in the various difficulties which encompassed us, who could have always acted right? Can it with justice be imputed to us, that one general possessed little prudence, and that another was deserted by fortune? that one army wanted courage, and another confidence? Much, O Spaniards, is to be attributed to your inexperience, and much to circumstances!”

The regency appointed by the junta was not more successful than the latter had been in securing public confidence, as they seemed more intent upon consolidating their own authority, than in hastening the assembling of the national cortes. To this measure, however, they were forcibly impelled, by a declaration of King Joseph, that he would convoke such an assembly at Madrid, in which he promised a representative government. The cortes assembled at Madrid in September: the regency was dissolved, and a new one instituted, of which General Blake was appointed the head. This change gave a little activity to the Spanish military; and, in the spring of 1811, it was

resolved to make an offensive movement, to destroy the French works in front of the Island of Leon.

The enterprise seemed certain of success, as Marshal Soult had ventured on the bold measure of detaching a considerable portion of his force to besiege Badajoz; thereby reducing his troops in the lines to 10,000 or 12,000, whilst the army in the island mustered nearly 20,000. To remove all impediment to a well-combined exertion, General Graham consented to act under the orders of the Spanish general La Pena. In the execution of the main object, the battle of Barrosa occurred, in which the British forces, and the French under Marshal Victor, were principally engaged, and which terminated in the entire defeat of the enemy. But the solid advantages which should have accrued from this splendid victory were lost, by one of those misunderstandings so constant in combined operations, where neither of the commanders possess absolute authority. General Graham, having every reason to be dissatisfied with the Spanish general for not rendering the assistance his capabilities afforded, withdrew from under La Pena's command, and retired with the British, a few hours after the battle, into the Island of Leon. La Pena remained for several days on the Bermesa heights; he then recrossed into the island, without attempting injury to the enemy's works, though he had above 15,000 men under his command; and each party resumed its former attitude.

Marshal Soult afterwards, to banish the remembrance of Victor's defeat, and to gloss over his own inactivity before Cadiz, cast artillery of a peculiar construction, from which shells filled with lead ranged over great part of the town. The army in the Island of Leon did not return the compliment, because the principal sufferers from it would have been their countrymen or allies. Nevertheless, by a happy art the French possess, of giving importance to their military operations, their defensive position opposite the island has been magnified into a strict blockade and vigorous bombardment of the town, and, by an undue regard for national fame, is most frequently called by the English, the siege of Cadiz.*

* Colonel Jones, who has favoured the world with a history of the Peninsular war, indignantly repels the idea of the capital of Andalusia

Whilst the chief force of the French was occupied in Portugal and Andalusia, and there remained in the interior of Spain only a few weak corps, the Guerilla system took deep root, and in the course of 1811 attained its greatest perfection. Left to itself, the boldest and most enterprising of its members rose to command; and the mode of warfare best adapted to their force and habits was pursued. Each province boasted of a hero, in command of a formidable band:—Old Castile, Don Julian Sanchez; Arragon, Longa; Navarre, Espos y Mina;* the Asturias, El Marquirito; the

having sustained a siege. The following is a transcript of a note he has given on the subject.—“The piece of artillery lately mounted in St. James’s Park, considered as a monument of national success, is highly gratifying to every Englishman’s feelings: but those who wrote the inscription upon it, either not understanding the force of military terms, or under-rating the value of military character, have turned it into a monument of reproach, by making it a public memento that the French besieged Cadiz. Nothing could more disadvantageously contrast the difference of energy of the two nations, than the fact, that a French force, seldom exceeding ten or fifteen thousand men, had entered the Island of Leon, and carried on the siege of Cadiz, at the time when we were exerting our utmost strength to prevent it. As they did no such thing, but, on the contrary, entrenched their cantonments, and held a position, strictly speaking, more defensive than that of the army of the island, which maintained its picquets and advanced posts on the continent during the whole period in question—it surely would have been no more than justice to ourselves, and no disparagement to our enemy, if the inscription had been rather to the following effect:—That the French, intending to besiege Cadiz, were, by the powerful assistance of the English, prevented for two years from even setting a foot in the Island of Leon: that, alarmed for their own safety, they erected formidable lines of defence to secure their cantonments: that, not daring to approach sufficiently near the town to make use of artillery of the ordinary range, they endeavoured to increase its powers by casting mortars of a different construction from those in general use: that, when, by the victory of the Duke of Wellington at Salamanca, the French were forced to abandon their lines, these mortars fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who, in gratitude to the British for preserving Cadiz from the dangers and horrors of a siege, presented this to the Prince Regent,” &c. &c.

* Of the manners and character of this patriotic chief, who so highly distinguished himself against the French during their occupation of the country, and who now holds a command in the constitutional army, a tolerable idea may be formed from the subjoined

Guadalaxara Mountains, Juan Martin, the Empecinado; with innumerable others, renowned under some distinguishing appellatives, whose deeds spread a lustre over every part of the kingdom. These partisans separated and collected at any assigned rendezvous, at the command of their respective chiefs; and being assured of the inviolable faith of their countrymen, would frequently remain concealed for days together at the very gates of a town occupied by the French, and carry off the object of their search the moment it appeared. Nothing was secure from their activity and address;

sketch, drawn by a gentleman well qualified to judge, from personal observation. His account runs in the following terms:—"The activity and simple mode of living peculiar to the Guerilla chief, might be advantageously imitated by the military men of other countries. Having only reached Pamplona late in the evening, (August, 1820,) it was eight o'clock before I could wait on General Mina, who had gone out to take a walk, and pay some visits. Leaving my letters of introduction and address, I had not been more than half an hour at the Posado, before an aid-de-camp came to welcome my arrival, and invite me to dine with Mina on the following day: but he added, that his excellency would be happy to receive me between six and eight in the morning, to take chocolate. The novelty of the first-named hour induced me to prefer that; and as it was the first time I had ever been invited to the house of a great man so early, I determined not to keep him waiting. The palace of government, an old gothic edifice, is situated on the north side of Pamplona: it is washed by the river Arga, and commands a fine view of the Pyrenees, which rise in majestic grandeur within about ten miles of the city. The first object that attracted my attention, on ascending the great staircase leading to the apartment of the captain-general, was the following sentence, from the political code, inscribed in large gilt letters over the door:—"The Spanish nation is free and independent; it is not, nor can it be, the patrimony of any family or person." On mentioning my name to an orderly, I was led through a long suite of rooms, furnished with the greatest simplicity, to a closet, where I found the hero, seated at a small deal table, smoking a segar; he wore a military undress, and had a black silk cap over one of fur. The general seemed to have been busily occupied in writing; but, on my entrance, he rose, and received me with the utmost cordiality, begging I would be seated; (there were only two chairs in the room;) when chocolate, its accompaniment a glass of spring-water, *los azucarillos*, and a segar, were served. We had a long conversation on the state of affairs in France and England; after which, I took occasion to congratulate his excellency on the recent accomplishment of his wishes, as well as on the part he had himself

and so formidable had the Guerillas become, that it is confidently affirmed, Joseph Buonaparte himself feared to sleep absent from Madrid, even with the strongest guard.

Dismissing military affairs, I now turn to the labours of the cortes, who, surrounded by an hostile force, and amid the roaring of the enemy's cannon, were proceeding, with dignified wisdom, to form a code of laws for the future liberties of their country. The difficulties felt by this body were of the most serious complexion. The chief pecuniary resources of the Spaniards, in the early stages of the contest, were drawn from their South American possessions; but, owing to the spirit of independence which had begun to manifest itself in the colonies, this source of revenue was nearly dried up, and the internal supplies of Spain were

taken in the regeneration of Spain. I then withdrew, being first reminded of my engagement. At dinner, besides Mina, his secretary, and staff, the company consisted of several officers of various ranks. Like the unaffected manners of the distinguished host, the repast, though abundant, was plain, and did not last more than three quarters of an hour; after which, coffee and liqueurs were served in another room. When about to retire, the general introduced me to a literary character, well acquainted with the history and antiquities of the city, whom he had invited for the purpose of shewing me the public buildings and other establishments. The reception of Mina in France, when in 1814 he fled from the persecution of Ferdinand, was highly creditable to the ministers of Louis the Eighteenth. Though closely watched by the police, from his arrival till he departed in March, 1820, he was allowed a liberal pension during his stay at Paris. It has been remarked, that this brave and independent patriot ought to have been invited to fix his residence in England; for although, by his exertions in the war against Napoleon, he was peculiarly entitled to protection from the Bourbons, he had much stronger claims on the British cabinet. Whatever the general's feelings with regard to England may have been formerly, I have every reason to believe he now joins in the opinion so universally entertained in Spain, that England is the cause of all those evils which have oppressed that country within the last six years; since, according to this opinion, it was by the connivance and support of our ministers, that the constitution was abrogated in 1814. Unlike too many of his countrymen, Mina makes a proper distinction between the ministers and people of England. I have a particular right to say so; and I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for his hospitable kindnesses to me while at Pamplona, where he has succeeded in conciliating the esteem of all ranks, (except the *Serviles*,) by his justice and moderation as captain-general of Navarre."

reduced, by the presence of the enemy, to insignificance. Much good, however, was effected by the cortes: a constitution was formed,* founded upon the declaration, that

* The new Spanish constitution, and the reforms adopted by the cortes of 1812, are minutely detailed in a pamphlet lately published by Count Toreno, and is an essential service rendered to his country. The following particulars embrace the prominent features of the Spanish code of that period, and is precisely the same as that re-established by the patriots of 1820.—“The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.—The cortes consists of only one chamber, which is formed of the deputies of the people. The deputies are elected by all the citizens: one deputy for every 70,000 souls, in the Peninsula, islands, and colonies.—The elections are made in the electoral juntas, as parishes, districts, and provinces. The citizens of all the parishes choose electors, who nominate the electors for the district, and these again name the electors who are to meet in the capital of the province to elect the deputies to the cortes.—The cortes to meet every year on the 1st of March, without waiting any instrument from the king for their convocation.—The session to continue at least three months every year.—The session may be prolonged by their own vote of two-thirds of their members for another month.—The deputies to be renewed entirely every second year. Deputies cannot be elected to sit in two consecutive cortes.—The deputies swear to protect the constitution, and to be faithful to the nation; but no reference is made to the king in this oath.—No foreigner can be a deputy, not even after having received letters of naturalization.—The king to open the cortes with a speech, and to come without guards. The cortes cannot deliberate in his presence. Debates public; members inviolable for their opinions; members cannot ask or accept rewards, honours, or pensions, from the king.—The approbation of the cortes necessary before any offensive alliance can be formed, or commercial treaty made. They determine, on the proposal of the king, the strength of the army and naval force.—They regulate the system of general education, and approve that formed for the Prince of Asturias. They enforce the responsibility of the secretaries of state, and of all the public functionaries. They give instructions to, and form regulations for, the army, navy, and militia, in all their branches.—Half the number, plus one, a quorum.—Bills to be read three times: the king cannot refuse his assent by a simple negative; he must state his reasons for withholding it. If he fail to do so within thirty days, his silence is construed into assent. A bill thus thrown out may be brought in again during the next session; and if then lost, it may be brought forward a third time in the next succeeding session; and if it then pass, it becomes law without the king's assent, and without being referred to him at all.—All deputies are paid a certain salary by the provinces they represent.—Before the close of a session, the cortes

"Spain belongs to the Spanish people, and is not the patrimony of any family." Among the excellent laws established, were—the abolition of torture; a recognition of the liberty of the press; the abrogation of feudal jurisdictions; the application of church property to the necessities of the state; the prohibition of the African slave-trade; the total abolition of the Holy Inquisition; and the admission of representatives from the South American provinces into the cortes.

Notwithstanding the calumnies to which the cortes have been exposed, their public acts, no less than the persevering assiduity with which they conducted the affairs of Spain in times of unexampled difficulty and danger—labouring to introduce reforms analogous to the new code which their wisdom had framed—will always furnish an unanswerable reply to the assertions of their enemies: and, many as are the brilliant eras in Spanish history, posterity will surely regard that in which so much heroism and constancy were displayed, as most worthy of its applause and imitation. Although the circumstances which induced the reigning family to forfeit every claim to the crown were overlooked by the partisans of tyranny, they have not hesitated to

nominate a permanent deputation of their body to watch over the strict observance of the constitution, with instructions to report any infractions to the next cortes.—No actual deputy can be a member of the council of state. The king's ministers have no seats in the house.—When any vacancy arises in the council of state, the cortes present to the king three names, of which he must take one to fill the vacant place.—The king must hear the decision of the council on all important affairs of the government.—The king cannot give or refuse his assent to bills, nor declare war, nor make peace, nor negotiate treaties, without the consent of the council of state.—It belongs to the council to propose to the king three persons for presentation to all ecclesiastical benefices, and to all situations in the judicature; and the nomination must be one of the three persons thus recommended.—The council proposes thus, in triple lists, names for succession to all situations in civil and criminal tribunals. Presentations are made in this way, also to all bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities.—The distribution of honours and distinctions is made according to fixed laws.—The king cannot make any offensive alliance, or commercial treaty, without the consent of the cortes, as well as the approbation of the council."

assert, that there had been no *legitimate* government in Spain, except that appointed by Charles the Fourth or his son; yet it is worthy of attention, to compare the conduct of both parties:—the sovereign and heir-apparent tamely resigning their rights to the throne; while the provisional government and cortes were making the most strenuous efforts for its preservation in their family. The latter assembly is also represented as having been illegally constituted. This charge, like every other made against them, has been ably refuted by many writers; and the wisdom and moderation with which they exercised their legislative functions, afford the best possible title to legitimacy. There is not an argument which is brought against the authority of the Spanish cortes, to prove its illegality, that might not be adduced, with additional force, against the British patriots of 1688, who changed the dynasty, and placed William the Third upon the throne. Had the cortes retained the inquisition, suffered the church property to remain in the hands of an indolent and overgrown hierarchy, or taken no steps to remove those monstrous abuses which had sprung up with, and been tolerated by, the old government, then, indeed, might there have been some ground for the obloquy with which that celebrated body of patriots have been assailed. Having, by the most unwearied exertions, and the co-operation of their allies, re-conquered the Peninsula, and laid the foundation of that reform which was effected to a considerable extent, both the government and people of Spain looked forward to the liberation of the king, with the exultation of men who felt they had performed a sacred duty. Proud of the victory they had achieved, they looked for his return as the termination of all their sufferings; and, since the best blood of Spain had been shed to secure his crown, they had certainly a right to calculate on his gratitude, and even to consider it as the best guarantee of their future felicity. These pleasing anticipations, so well warranted by their generous and unexampled efforts, were most grievously disappointed, as will appear in the subsequent narrative.

If the reforms above alluded to form the highest panegyric of the national representatives, the popularity and

adoption of their famous code by Naples and Piedmont, where so many others might have been chosen, is a presumption that it is regarded as the best written constitution of our day. An able apologist for this code, thus reasons on the subject:—"To say," observes he, "that it is exempt from defects, would be giving to those who drew it up a degree of credit which no set of men ever merited; but, after admitting all that calumny or envy have advanced, on one side, and an over-strained admiration, which produces a similar effect, on the other, it would be the height of injustice to say, that the Spanish code is not drawn up in unison with the spirit of the age—according as much liberty to the people as the existing circumstances of Europe, at the time of its being drawn up, would admit; and curtailing the power of the prince within bounds, which, if they have not been found sufficiently limited, appeared at least to promise all the effects that the friends of constitutional liberty could desire. In addition to the minor imperfections discovered in the Spanish code, the want of a second chamber is that which seems to have excited most attention. All writers who have touched upon Peninsular affairs during the last three years, do not fail to point out this as a defect. But, had they sufficiently reflected on the state of the aristocracy—its incongruous divisions, confusion of classes, impossibility of drawing a line between them, and, above all, its backwardness on the score of general information—they would have paused before promulgating a single word calculated to shake the faith of the Spanish people in a code so essential to their civil and political salvation."*

* The reasons adduced for discontinuing the old practice of assembling the cortes by *estamentos*, or separate branches of clergy, grandees, and deputies chosen by the people, as in Sicily, are fully detailed in the preliminary discourse prefixed to the constitutional code, and seem quite conclusive on the subject: for it is proved, that the intervention of the two first classes was purely of feudal origin; and that, even when they appeared in cortes, they came rather as counsellors than representatives. On the other hand, the unequal distribution of the nobility, in the present day, was regarded as an insurmountable barrier to the *estamentos*. The indeterminate condition of the nobles; the great numbers in one province, while scarcely any are to be found in another; the

CHAPTER III.

Buonaparte makes Peace with, and liberates, Ferdinand—Loyalty of the People—State of Parties—Ferdinand writes to the Cortes—They refuse to sanction the Treaty—Affectionate Answer of the Cardinal de Bourbon to the King—A Decree passed for prohibiting his Majesty from exercising the royal Authority, until he had sworn to maintain the Constitution—Another for prescribing the King's Route to Madrid—The King commences his Journey—His suspicious Conduct—Surrounded at Valencia by Priests and Courtiers—Declares the Cortes to be illegal—Dissolves them—Arrival at Madrid—The Reign of Terror commences—Instances of extreme Cruelty.

THE opening of the year 1814 seemed to have realized all the hopes of the Spanish nation. On the 25th of August in the preceding year, Marshal Soult finally abandoned the blockade of the Isle of Leon, with a view of concentrating his forces in the north with those of the other French armies, which were now in a perilous situation, in consequence of the disasters they had sustained from the brilliant victories of Lord Wellington. The capital was abandoned by the French, and the cortes and regency, released from their insulated situation, were triumphantly established at Madrid in the month of January.

When, during the disastrous campaign of 1813, Napoleon had determined to negotiate with Ferdinand,* a treaty was

endless divisions and subdivisions of classes; the opposition which by far the largest portion would have made to the establishment of an upper chamber, if confined to the *grandees*; and, above all, that disrepute into which nearly the whole had fallen—their ignorance, prejudices, and consequent disposition to destroy rather than preserve liberty; these, and various other reasons, formed an insuperable bar to a second chamber. According to the opinion of Count Toreno, himself a noble, all the dignity and independence of the peerage, in the eyes of a Spanish *grandee*, are not to be put in competition with that of having free ingress to the royal palace, or being placed on the king's domestic establishment. Accustomed to regard the employments of the household as the climax of worldly honours, and the greatest gift of fortune, possessing numerous entails, they did not esteem an hereditary magistracy, however elevated, as equal to the most insignificant office of the court.

* Mr. Blaquiere relates a circumstance, which I have never seen recorded by any other writer; and which, perhaps, is quite new to

concluded at Valençay, on the 11th of December, by which the latter was recognized as the legitimate King of Spain, and stipulating other things for the security of all those individuals who had been the adherents of King Joseph, whose confiscated property was to be restored.

The feelings of the cortes towards Ferdinand were well expressed in their ministerial paper, the *Conciso*, at the period when Ferdinand's return was expected to have taken place in virtue of his treaty with Napoleon.—“There is not a good Spaniard who does not desire the return of the unfortunate Ferdinand: but he wishes it for the good of his country, and not to expose it to greater evils than those it has already suffered. Ferdinand must return in the way in which Spaniards wish it, and not as Buonaparte means it. He must come to make us happy, and not to be the cause (though the innocent one) of new calamities. Happy will be the day on which Ferdinand, restored to his loyal subjects, may be thus addressed,—‘Here is your throne, preserved by the loyalty of your subjects; here is your crown, ransomed by the blood of Spaniards; here is your sceptre, which Spanish constancy replaces in your hands; here is your royal robe, tinged with the blood of thousands of victims, who have fallen that you might preserve it. Read our history: inform yourself of all that Spaniards have done for you; never forget that to the Spanish people you owe every thing! Never forget that you are come to be the chief of a nation, the monarch of subjects, who have

the British public. I transcribe his words: “I have been confidently informed,” says he, “that there was at this period a party in the cortes who wished to transfer the crown of Spain to the head of Lord Wellington; and that his fears lest such an event should take place greatly influenced the conduct of the French emperor. It was also said, that, had it not been for his anxiety to conciliate the people of Spain, Napoleon would, in conformity with the last arrangements at Bayonne, have restored Charles the Fourth instead of his son. Referring to the first point, it would have been a novel incident in the history of our time, to see a French and an English general wielding sceptres at the two extremities of Europe: but, perhaps, such a coincidence would have been highly favourable to its interests; particularly if Lord Wellington had used his power in Spain as Bernadotte has that with which he is entrusted in Sweden.”

abolished the vestiges of despotism! It is the law which orders: the king is the executive magistrate.' But, that such a day of jubilee may arrive, King Ferdinand must return absolutely free; neither influenced by the tyrant of France, nor by Spaniards ignorant of the state of Spain, or who view our institutions with repugnance."

The Spanish cortes were divided into two parties, both, indeed, hostile to France, and so far favourable to national independence; but unfortunately differing from each other upon the use that should be made of the final expulsion of the invader. These were the *Liberales*, who resolved to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity to engraft upon the monarchical constitution of Spain the principles of freedom; and the royalists, denominated the *Serviles*, who were desirous that the power of the monarch, with the privileges of the clergy and nobility, should remain in full force, as before the French invasion. The liberalists were most active and respectable. The royalists, however, were much aided by the extensive influence of the clergy, who found little difficulty in persuading a portion of the bigoted people, that whatever measures might be proposed to limit the exorbitant power of the church, were an insult to the Deity, and destructive of the Catholic religion. It was in the middle classes of the people principally, and especially among those whom education had led to read and think on political subjects, that the new order of things found the most ardent supporters.

Such was the general state of Spain, while Buonaparte was negotiating his treaty with Ferdinand. When that treaty was brought to a close, the young Spanish monarch despatched it to Madrid by the Duke de San Carlos, together with a proposition from the French for a suspension of hostilities between the two countries; and to these communications he urged the immediate attention of the regency. As it was contrary to the uniform policy of the regency, and in direct opposition to the decree of the cortes promulgated on the 1st of January, 1811, declaring that they would not acknowledge any stipulations entered into between the royal family and Napoleon, while the former continued in France; a copy of the above decree was im-

mediately sent to Ferdinand, in reply to his letter, announcing what had taken place; and the treaty was returned without being ratified. The answer was composed by the venerable Cardinal de Bourbon, who was president of the regency, and breathed sentiments of the most profound respect and loyalty. "In the midst of those transports," said he, "to which the proximity of such a blessing gives rise, the regency already think they hear the voice of your majesty; that you have arrived amongst your faithful subjects; and that we have placed in your hands that power, of which we have been only the depositaries, and whose weight is oppressive to all, except the monarch himself, who, though in exile, has re-established the cortes, given liberty to an enslaved people, and precipitated from the throne of Spain the ferocious monster of despotism. The highest praise is due to your majesty for this noble action; and Europe already pays you the tribute of applause which has been so well merited."

This is the language of men who have been stigmatized with the selfish design of engrossing and retaining in their own hands the power of the state. The accusation, however, could only proceed from interested individuals, who were anxious to find an apology for their own baseness in their attempts to bring Spain again under the yoke of an absolute monarch. The letter concluded by an intimation to the king, that an authorized minister had been appointed by the regency to appear at any congress which might be assembled for the purpose of concluding a general peace; and that the treaty ought to be ratified, not by them, but by the king himself, either at Madrid, or wherever he should be established, when constitutionally invested with the functions of royalty.

This answer, alike respectful to the character of the prince, and correspondent to the just expectations of the country, was dated and transmitted on the 29th of January, 1814; and the cortes having been informed of the proceedings of the regency, adopted a resolution, that the council of state should suggest a suitable line of policy that ought to be adopted towards his majesty, should he enter Spain before the conclusion of a general peace. This delicate

subject passed under discussion; and, on the 2d of February, the decision of the council was formally made known, —*That Ferdinand the Seventh should not be permitted to exercise the royal authority, until he had solemnly sworn to maintain the Constitution of 1812.*

Of the succeeding events of this most important epoch, I find no account so correctly detailed, or so well expressed, as by the author of the ‘Historical Review,’ and shall therefore generally adopt his recital and arrangement, as the latest and best that has appeared before the British public.

The cortes having deliberated on the resolution of the council, in reference to the conduct to be observed towards the king, passed a decree, consisting of fourteen articles, in which it was enacted, that his majesty was not to be considered at liberty, and that, consequently, no oath of allegiance could be administered in his name, till he had himself sworn to preserve the new political code, as prescribed by Article 173; that the generals commanding on the frontiers should be charged to send couriers extraordinary to Madrid, advising the regency of the king’s approach, in order that the necessary arrangements might be made for his reception; that the president should go forward to meet his majesty, and give an account of all that had been done during his absence; that no armed force was to enter Spain with the king; that the captain-general of the province should appoint an escort suitable to the royal dignity; that none of those who had espoused the cause of King Joseph should be allowed to pass the frontiers with his majesty; that the regency should indicate the route by which he should reach Madrid, and that he was to be accompanied by the president, who was to present a copy of the constitution to the king, in order that he might be prepared to swear with an entire knowledge of its contents; that, on reaching the capital, Ferdinand should proceed directly to the hall of the cortes, to take the oath, with all the solemnities required by the established regulations; that, after having sworn, he should go to the royal palace, accompanied by thirty members, and that the regency should be there, in readiness to transfer the executive authority to the hands of the constitutional monarch. Finally, that a proclamation should be issued,

to inform the people of all the occurrences attending this important consummation of their wishes.

Perhaps no monarch ever existed, who had so favourable an opportunity of endearing himself to his subjects, and rendering essential benefit to his country, as Ferdinand had at this juncture. While resistance to the invader, and a provident attention to the liberties of the kingdom, had necessarily occupied the chief attention of the cortes and regency, they had never failed to manifest the strongest sympathy for the misfortunes, and the most ardent attachment to the interests, of the king. In all their public appeals to the nation, in their addresses to the army, and in their official state papers, the name of the *beloved* Ferdinand was made the rallying point for new exertions and fresh sacrifices. As far as he was known to his subjects, he was highly revered; and the single circumstance of his having opposed, and suffered for his opposition to his father's favourite minister, acquired for him the credit and respect of a political martyr. From the period, however, of which I now speak, there has not been a public transaction of his life, that justifies the hopes that were formed of his government. Imbecility or treachery, bigotry or weakness, cruelty or superstition, have marked every measure of his administration, and impressed a conviction upon the Spanish nation, that if they are to enjoy the blessings of a constitutional monarchy, they must be indebted for it to their own inflexible courage and firmness.*

* Severe as this censure may appear, after making all possible allowances that charity itself can suggest, for weakness, and the circumstances in which the king was placed, it seems extremely difficult to palliate his public conduct. However, I am willing to give Ferdinand the benefit of the best apology I have ever seen offered on his behalf, which is copied at length; but it obviously bears the colouring of partiality. This statement is said to be written by a Spaniard of Madrid, a person thoroughly acquainted with every particular of the king's life, though entirely unconnected with the palace, and addressed to the author of the 'Historical Review.'—"Born with a weak and sickly constitution, Ferdinand's infancy was passed in a series of maladies. Many of his preceptors were men of merit: you know that Escobiquiz was his guide in ethics, moral philosophy, and history; while Father Scio, the author of an excellent translation of the Bible, and a man of great learning, superintended his religious and biblical studies;

The regency were anxious to justify themselves to the king and the nation, for their rejection of the treaty with

he received lessons in military tactics from Colonel Maturana, an officer of artillery, and a highly meritorious character. Scarcely had he surmounted the dangers of infancy, than he began to experience the hatred vowed to him at an early period by his mother! This hatred was inspired by the Prince of Peace, who saw an insurmountable obstacle to his ambition in the heir apparent. Although his youth was passed amidst the tribulations of an implacable persecution, Ferdinand was never observed to betray the most trifling anger or resentment against his parents. He was, for several years, deprived of all communication and correspondence, except with the few imbecile courtiers who were placed to watch his person. It is a well-known fact, that all those to whom he shewed any particular token of kindness, were marked out, and given up to persecution. He was married, in 1804, to Maria Antonia de Bourbon, an infanta of Naples: this princess was highly accomplished. Possessing an elevated mind, and great independence of character, she soon opened the eyes of her husband to the scandalous proceedings of the court. The destruction of this amiable woman was soon decided: after a most difficult labour and long sickness, during which they were so barbarous as to separate her from her husband, she fell a victim to a violent remedy in 1806. An apothecary of the court shot himself some months after, leaving a written paper, in which he declared the part he had taken in the death of the princess. From that time till the famous affair of the Escorial, his life presents no event of importance. Stimulated by his own feelings, and urged on by some individuals of the court, in 1807 the prince determined to throw himself at the feet of Charles the Fourth, and represent the hatred of the whole people against Godoy, the disorders of the finances, and all those other evils which oppressed the nation. The paper composed by him on this occasion, and written in his own hand, was a masterpiece of reasoning, filial tenderness, eloquence, and patriotism: this document is unfortunately lost. Ferdinand entreated his father to drive from his palace the man who dishonoured him; also, that he should immediately assemble the cortes, and, though late, listen to the voice of the people. Escoiquiz and the Duke del Infantado were the principal actors in this business: they calculated on the support of France, which had been promised by Count Beauharnois, the ambassador of Napoleon. The project being discovered, it was frustrated; and a petition on the subject, drawn up by Escoiquiz, and written by his pupil, was found in the lining of the latter's coat. Nothing could exceed the rigorous treatment of the prince, on this discovery: Escoiquiz was sent to a convent, and Infantado exiled; while the servants who happened to be concerned in keeping up the communication were condemned to the gallies. It is from this moment you may date the species of idolatry which the peo-

Napoleon at Valençay ; and, in a public address, ably exposed its incompatibility with the honour and interests of Spain.

ple paid to the Prince of Asturias; hence, too, arose the events at Aranjuez, where the people rose, and seized the Prince of Peace, who must infallibly have perished, had it not been for the timely intercession of Ferdinand. Nothing could exceed the joy of the nation, on hearing that the king had abdicated in favour of his son. The short reign of Ferdinand was marked by various acts of justice and magnanimity: one of his first measures was to recall from exile the ministers disgraced by Godoy; more especially Jovellanos, Azara, O'Farrell, and others. An unaccountable fatality seemed to take possession of Ferdinand and his advisers soon after: the journey to Vittoria was decided on; you know the rest.—Ferdinand's stay at Valençay is a remarkable period of his life. Firmly believing that he could never return to power, he resigned himself to this thought with the fortitude of a Stoic. Applying himself to literature, he formed a superb library; and filled up a portion of his leisure in translating several Spanish works into French. His benevolence knew no bounds: and his departure is still regretted by the whole department, and will long be lamented by the poor and indigent.—A person, or rather a monster, named Ameraga, nephew of Escoiquiz, having joined the train of Ferdinand when he was passing through Biscay on his way to Bayonne, accompanied him to that place, and contrived to introduce himself into the court of Napoleon. Being appointed superintendant of the household at Valençay some months after, and chief keeper of the prince, he acquitted himself of the charge like a true tyrant, treating the young king with so much insult and cruelty, that the latter was forced to represent his conduct to Napoleon; upon which, an immediate order was sent, directing Ameraga to quit the palace instantly. Throwing himself at the feet of Ferdinand, and soliciting forgiveness, the prince, moved by his tears, made him a present of a valuable estate on the banks of the Loire.—Several writers have reproached Ferdinand with his blind partiality to Napoleon, and entire submission to his orders, as well as the cession made of all his rights into the hands of the conqueror. If you ever publish this, compare the conduct of Ferdinand with that of Alexander at Tilsit, and of Francis at Schöenbrunn: do not fail to represent the fact of his having passed the whole of his life in a state of abject slavery, without ever being allowed the smallest interference in political affairs. I cannot add any thing more to your stock of information, as to the public history of Ferdinand; perhaps you would like to hear one or two anecdotes relative to his private life.—On his return from France, and while proceeding from the frontiers to Saragossa, he read the Constitution with San Carlos and the famous General Palafox. Ferdinand expressed the highest opinion of the new code, and even traced its analogy to the ancient laws of the monarchy.

While the correspondence between Ferdinand and the regency was carried on, Buonaparte, relying on the com-

Whenever either of his companions made a remark on its extreme liberality, he proved, by quotations from various historians, that such had been the genuine spirit of our early institutions. It was at a village between Saragossa and Valencia, that a deputation of bishops inspired him with his first scruples against the code: this is an important fact, but little known even here. Notwithstanding the persuasions of those pious fathers, Ferdinand hesitated a long time; nor was it till some days after his arrival at Valencia, that he would sign the fatal decree. If the nations of Europe knew the threats and subterfuges of every kind put in practice there, they would acquit Ferdinand with one accord. I have frequently told you, that foreign influence had a very large share in destroying our liberties: I need not remind you, that your own ambassador was amongst the first visitors; and there are those who do not hesitate to say, that a distinguished military chief gave his voice in favour of the proposed measure. Without vouching for the truth of this statement, you are aware that a British general headed the cavalry which escorted the king into the capital. Some persons go so far as to say, that this officer told those who suggested fears for the result, that he would answer for the conquest of Madrid, and securing the cortes. This is also a report, of which I do not pretend to affirm the authenticity.—With respect to the personal qualities of Ferdinand, I am bound to say, he is the best of sons and husbands. He carried on a regular correspondence with the late king for many years before his death. Ferdinand is adored by his domestics. I have seen him enter the room of a sick servant, and present the medicines himself, shewing him as much attention as if he had been a brother. A person whom you know, being once closeted with him, refused to give some explanation demanded by his majesty; upon which, the latter observed, ‘You are not addressing your king, but a Spanish-gentleman!’ Ferdinand has committed many faults; but there is not one of them that was not the effect of his inexperience, and of the ignorance in which he has been kept. He was surrounded in such a manner, that it was totally impossible for the truth to approach; when left to himself, he sought the goddess with the most impatient avidity. A person said one day, ‘Your majesty has ordered me to read this paper: it contains very serious accusations against some one who enjoys your whole confidence.’ ‘No matter,’ replied the king, ‘read on.’ After hearing the document read, with the greatest attention and composure, he took it from the secretary, without saying a word more, looked over the paper again, and then put it into his pocket. In a few days after, the accused person got leave to retire from the court!—When Porlier’s unfortunate affair took place, one of Ferdinand’s servants fell at the feet of his master, and said, ‘Sire, I also

plaisance of the former, decided, that he should have perfect freedom to return to his dominions, without any other

am guilty, but your majesty is generous; I therefore implore my pardon: I am an accomplice of the general.' The king asked, whether any other person knew of his crime; and being answered in the negative, ordered the culprit to maintain a profound silence on the subject; adding, 'Be cautious that none besides myself becomes the confidant of your weakness.' The servant not only retained his place, but was raised to another of still greater importance.—You wish to be informed of the mode of life which Ferdinand leads at present. The following details are from one who lives in the palace. He rises at six, and devotes a part of the morning to religious duties. After breakfast, which is taken in company with the queen, and during which he converses familiarly with his medical adviser, the captain of the guard, or some of the attendants, he gives up an hour to the regulation of domestic concerns, and general affairs of the household. This duty performed, he takes an airing in his berlin, attended by a single person, without any escort whatever. While absent from the palace, Ferdinand generally visits some public establishment, or calls at one of his country houses. It sometimes happens, that this part of the day is given up to receiving foreign ambassadors, grandees, or other visits. He dines at four, without the least etiquette; and all the members of the royal family meet at dinner; during which, the king jokes with his brother's wife, or sisters-in-law, not unfrequently addressing some jocular remark to the servants who are in attendance. After dinner, he retires, smokes a segar, gives his orders to the valet-de-chambre, and then enters the state-carriage with the queen, when the whole family go out in the usual order. After the evening's airing, public audience is given: this has never been omitted for a single day. Every class of persons are admitted at this hour: I have even seen beggars there! Ferdinand listens to each with the greatest patience, and as soon as the hall is empty, passes into his closet with a secretary, to decide on the petitions presented, or requests that may have been made. Not a day passes without *despacho*, (transacting public business.) He is often engaged with two ministers at a time. The remainder of the evening is passed in reading, music, or in the society of his family.—*Madrid, Nov. 22, 1820.*—To the above sketch, which, as I have before observed, obviously savours of a favourable partiality, I shall add the remarks of the author of the 'Historical Review' himself, on the character of Ferdinand, and of some other individuals of the royal family.—"I have already had occasion to allude to the personal charms of the young queen; who, like most Saxon beauties, has light-coloured hair, and a remarkably fair complexion; forming a striking and agreeable contrast with her sisters-in-law, Donna Carlota and Donna Francisca, both distinguished for those jetty locks, large dark eyes, and plump forms,

guarantee for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty, than his own personal assurances. Thus released from a captivity of six years, the young monarch, in company with his brothers, a confessor, and several of his attendants who had shared with him the miseries of banishment, reached the Catalanian frontier on the 24th of March, 1814. Marshal Suchet was charged with the safe-conduct of the king to the frontiers; and on the latter's arrival on the limits of the Spanish territory, he was received by the Spanish general in chief, Don Francisco Copons, who immediately communicated to him the decree of the cortes, and the orders of the regency.

Up to this moment, nothing was observable in the conduct of the king, to excite the slightest suspicion of his

which mark the fascinating brunettes of Spain and Portugal. The greatest harmony is said to prevail amongst all the members of the Spanish royal family: their dining, and generally appearing in public together, is the best proof I can offer of this assertion; it is also an example which ought to put some other families to the blush. Although there is nothing in Ferdinand's exterior that would be likely to captivate the female mind, and that her Catholic majesty is nearly twenty years younger than her husband, (Ferdinand was born in 1784,) yet there is every reason to believe she is warmly attached to the king, and that this results from his unexceptionable conduct as a married man, never omitting those little attentions, which, though trifling in themselves, are a sure title to affection with women. A personal attendant of her majesty has informed me, that Ferdinand passed a great part of the day with his wife, and was remarkably attentive to her wishes on the most trivial points.—In noticing the qualities of Ferdinand, I regret not to be able to extend the same praises to his brother, Don Carlos, who is exceedingly unpopular, arising in a great measure from his intimacy and too ready compliance with the suggestions of priests and bigots. Nothing but the strangest fatality can induce this prince to follow a course so diametrically opposed to his real interest; and I am sure it would be impossible for his best friend to render Don Carlos a greater service than to remind him, that the royal heirs apparent of the present day, who disregard public opinion, are incurring risks which I dread to name.—Don Francisco de Paula forms a striking and most agreeable contrast to his brother: his popularity with all parties is the best panegyric of this prince, who is, in fact, looked up to by the constitutional party. If kings and princes could know how easy it is to be popular, and consider what a very moderate share of virtue satisfies their subjects, surely they would be greater favourites throughout Europe!"

disinclination to conform to the present order of things. During his journey, nothing could exceed the amiable and paternal tone of Ferdinand: he gave the most unequivocal assurances, that, as the common father of his people, he had determined to collect the members of every party under the royal mantle, and to form of them but one party. He professed himself to be perfectly satisfied with the arrangements that had been adopted respecting his approach to the capital, and the restrictions imposed for his conduct; nor did he exercise a single act of sovereignty, while he remained in Catalonia. Taking into view the liberal professions made by Ferdinand while on his way to the frontiers, with his subsequent conduct, it is difficult to ascribe to him any other motive than the basest hypocrisy.

The direct road prescribed by the cortes was through Valencia; but the king, instead of proceeding by that route, made for Saragossa, alleging, as the reason of this change, his anxiety to view the ruins of that celebrated city, and thus pay a compliment to its brave inhabitants. However plausible this reason may have been, this act alone was sufficient to excite suspicions of his sincerity; and many days did not elapse, before these were but too fatally realized. From some incidents that occurred in the above city, it soon became apparent, that the restored monarch was neither an admirer of those who framed the constitution of Cadiz, nor a convert to its institutions. At length, however, he proceeded to Valencia, where he fixed his abode, avoiding Madrid, and maintaining an alarming silence on the subject of the constitution which he had been required to accept. On account of the change in the king's route, the venerable Cardinal Bourbon, president of the regency, who had been appointed to meet the monarch with an express direction to obtain his signature and oath, did not see Ferdinand until he had approached within a few leagues of Valencia. Impressed with a due sense of their own dignity, the cortes had strictly enjoined the president not to conform to the old feudal ceremony of kissing the king's hand, which had formerly been the token of vassalage; and he faithfully promised to obey the injunction: but, on being admitted to an audience, Ferdinand insisted on his

conforming to the ancient usage; and, whether influenced by his fears, or deeming it of little importance to refuse, the cardinal yielded; thus betraying a want of firmness and dignity, at a time when both were so essential to the interests of the people. This ill-timed condescension, however, did not operate in favour of the royal uncle; who was subsequently not only sent into exile, but deprived of his ecclesiastical emoluments.

Ferdinand protracted his stay at Valencia for some time, with an evident view of drawing around him the dissatisfied nobles and priests, who were so much interested in the re-establishment of the powers of the ancient throne and church ascendancy. His calculations were not disappointed: many members of the cortes were among the numbers who repaired to Valencia; but those who remained continued unanimous in their resolution to receive and submit to Ferdinand in no other capacity than as the constitutional King of Spain. They reiterated their invitations to the king to come to Madrid, assume the reins of government, and restore, by his authority and wise measures, the happiness of Spain, and the peace of her colonies: but to these messages no answer was returned. The cortes even made some shew of military preparation; and General Lacy, distinguished in the Catalonian war, was placed at the head of the forces. But, as the influence of the grandees and dignified clergy was actively employed, and thrown into the scale of the monarch's pretensions, resistance was but feebly supported.

At length, Ferdinand judged himself strong enough to adopt decided measures against the body by which his authority had been so long administered. A proclamation, or rather a manifesto, was issued by the king, dated Valencia, May 4, which briefly retraced the history of the Peninsular war, and denounced the cortes as an illegal body, assembled in a manner unknown to the ancient laws and usages of Spain. It charged them with having formed a scheme of a constitution which was utterly subversive of the regal authority, and which a minority even of the cortes themselves had, by threats, shouts, and revolutionary measures of intimidation, compelled the rest to sanction.

This proclamation further upbraided them with having adopted the revolutionary principles of modern France, and attempted to establish, not a limited monarchy, but a democracy, having at its head a magistrate, whom, to conciliate the people, they permitted to retain the name, though without the authority, of a king. It was then faintly admitted, that some abuses had crept into the Spanish government, which might require regulation and correction; and the king promised he would, in due time, convoke the cortes in a legitimate form, and act in concert with them for these purposes.—“But concerning the labours of the present assembly, I declare,” continued the manifesto, “that my royal intention is, not only not to swear or accede to the said constitution, or to any decree of the general and extraordinary cortes, and of the ordinary at present sitting—those, to wit, which derogate from the rights and prerogatives of my sovereignty, established by the constitution and the laws under which the nation had lived in times past—but to pronounce that constitution, and such decrees, null, and of no effect, now, or at any other time, as if such acts had never passed; and that they are entirely abrogated, and without any obligation on my people and subjects, of whatever class or condition, to fulfil or observe them.”—The proclamation concluded by declaring, that the cortes should cease their sittings; that their place of meeting should be shut up, their books and papers placed in the town-hall of Madrid; and finally, that those opposing this royal decree should be held guilty of high treason, and punished with death!

If there was some truth in this proclamation, in so far as it imputes to the cortes a too great interference with the royal prerogative, it is not such as to qualify its gross falsehood in other particulars, and the deep and disgraceful ingratitude it displays in all. If the cortes were irregularly elected and convoked, the king ought to have remembered, that his own conduct, in truckling to the usurper of France, had placed the better part of the kingdom in the possession of foreign enemies, which impeded the regularity of elections: nor is it easy for any man to stifle his indignation, at observing, that this king, for whom Spain resigned all,

could not, while he dwells upon and exaggerates the errors of his temporary rulers, afford one atom of candid praise to their unparalleled exertions, or one word of sympathy with their unequalled sufferings. Yet this production was received, by a great portion of the people, not merely with passive obedience, but with enthusiasm!

At this most important epoch, several incidents occurred, which were calculated to encourage the king in his ungracious carriage towards the regency, the cortes, and the nation; and which, whether intended or not, had the effect of facilitating his return to the exercise of power, without giving his sanction to the constitutional code. No sooner was intelligence received at Madrid of Ferdinand's arrival in his dominions, than several of the foreign envoys joined themselves to his train: amongst the rest, the British ambassador went to congratulate his majesty; and a secret treaty was concluded between the two countries. Although the articles of this convention were never made known, they are considered as having embraced nothing more than a personal recognition of British claims, on the part of Ferdinand, for the supply of arms and money granted during the war: but in thus entering into negociations with the king, while he had not yet conformed to the stipulations of the regency, the British ministry naturally and deservedly incurred a suspicion, that they felt no interest in the maintenance of the Spanish constitution, nor in the fate of those patriots who had long acted in union with England. A second circumstance favourable to the despotic views of the king, was the arrival of news, while he yet remained at Valencia, that Buonaparte had been compelled to abdicate his crown; and a calculation deduced therefrom, that the victorious allies would be inclined to favour his resistance to all political reforms in his dominions. As might be supposed, such a moment as this was not lost by the priesthood and grandees who had surrounded the king, and who, being deeply interested in the restoration of the old despotism, pressed its speedy adoption, and urged the present state of things as the most propitious for such a purpose. But another and still more powerful impulse was given to the destinies of Spain, by the arrival of a

deputation of *sixty-nine* deputies of the cortes. They were the bearers of a document to the king, which contained a virulent attack upon all the measures adopted by the cortes and the regency, whether for the defence of the country, or reform of public abuses, from the period of Ferdinand's departure until his return; and is justly designated as a monument of eternal infamy and crime, by those able writers who have so triumphantly refuted all its calumnies.* These *sixty-nine* deputies had been returned to the cortes, on the express condition of adhering to the constitution, had solemnly sworn to preserve it inviolate, and yet were so lost to all sense of honour, as to put their names to an instrument in which the monarch was advised not to sanction the proceedings of their own body.

The plan of the king for re-establishing despotism was now apparent; to which General Elio, who commanded the troops assembled at Valencia, made himself a dishonourable instrument. This man, who had but a short time before sworn fidelity to the constitution, and been honoured with particular marks of favour by the regency, issued an order of the day, in which he congratulated the army on the king's return, talked of their attachment to his sacred person, and concluded by advising Ferdinand to govern in the manner of his ancestors. It was at this precise time that the king issued the manifesto, the substance of which is before given. It may be necessary to remark, that, in the intermediate time, between the king's arrival at Valencia and the publishing of his proclamation, the cortes had

* The composition of this scandalous paper, according to Mr. Blaquiére, is attributed to Bernardo Mozo y Rosales, who received, as the reward of his infamy, the dignity of a marquis, under the title of Mata-Florida, and filled offices of the highest order during the outrageous persecution of Ferdinand. Having formed part of the ministry whose power terminated with the events of March, 1820, he subsequently took up his abode at Bayonne, which, from its contiguity to the Spanish frontier, became the receptacle of those who were disaffected to the constitutional code. A most able and conclusive refutation of the false assertions and specious arguments of Rosales was published; which eloquent production, in addition to its having defended the cortes, and vindicated the nation, contains a great mass of valuable information relative to the ancient laws and customs of the Spanish monarchy.

addressed two letters to him, expressive of the state of doubt and agitation which was felt for his protracted stay in that city, and beseeching him that no time might be lost in his assuming the reins of government. The king's answers were respectful, but evasive: he generally affected an intention of compliance with their wishes, but carefully avoided explanations. Whether the cortes were now convinced of his insincerity, or, if so, whether they doubted their own inability to make an effectual stand against his machinations, is not very certain. At all events, they took no active measures to resist the more likely and the more dangerous conclusion. "It is true, however," says the authority on which these details are given, "that several of the chiefs, who had been most popular during the war of independence, offered to act against the traitors who surrounded the monarch at Valencia; and that nothing but the fear of plunging the nation into the horrors of civil war prevented those offers from being accepted. While the praise of their contemporaries, and the applause of posterity, are due to these real fathers of their country, they should have reflected, that those who erect an edifice of freedom do but half their office, in not taking precautions for its maintenance."

From the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of May, may be dated what has not unappropriately been denominated, *the reign of terror*. Elio's corps were directed to surround the capital. An order was at the same time forwarded to the agents of the police of Madrid, to arrest and imprison two of the most distinguished members of the regency, as well as all the ministers, the president and secretaries of the cortes, together with many of its members, and those who had *written* in favour of the constitution. On the night of the 10th and 11th of May, these arrests were actually effected. These *flattering* indications of a *patriotic* reign were followed, two days afterwards, by the entrance of the *beloved* Ferdinand into the capital. A large body of cavalry accompanied and graced the public entry; a circumstance which is not to be wondered at, considering the influence which Elio had employed over the soldiery: but that the king should be attended by all the ambassadors

of the European courts accredited to the regency, can be no other way accounted for, than that those courts were actually desirous that the king should resume his station as a despotic sovereign. Let the men who are incessantly crying up *legitimacy*, satisfactorily account for the conduct of those cabinets, on this occasion, which had previously acknowledged the Spanish constitution as established by the cortes.*

No obstacles now seemed to stand in the way of the court faction, to prevent them from gratifying their base and cruel purposes against the adherents of the constitution. It immediately became obvious, that the proclamation of the 4th of May was only the precursor of measures the most oppressive and tyrannic that ever disgraced a civilized country. Royal orders and edicts were immediately published, in which all the beneficent acts of the regency and cortes were rescinded; and, as if the simple revival of the numberless abuses under the old regime were thought inadequate to mark the base disposition of the king and his ministers, all those who had contributed to their abrogation, or shewn the slightest predilection in favour of liberal institutions, were selected as the victims of a detestable persecution. This unhappy period, and several succeeding years, exhibited the features of despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, in all their native deformity.

All the other measures of the Spanish government kept pace with those which have been detailed. The liberty

* It is greatly to be regretted, that the British government is deeply implicated in this censure; and to this fact may be ascribed a feeling of resentment and jealousy which some of the leading men among the constitutional party in Spain entertain against England. "I have been told by an eye-witness," observes a competent authority, "that the celebration of Ferdinand the Seventh's return, by the English ambassador, lasted ten days, and that the expenses thus incurred could not have been much less than £20,000. It is also a remarkable fact, that the Spanish cavalry which escorted the king into Madrid was commanded by an English general, now a governor in one of our West India islands." It is also a notorious fact, that the Duke of Wellington arrived at Madrid from Paris on the 24th of May, to compliment the king; and is said to have experienced a most flattering reception from his majesty, as Duke of Ciudad-Rodrigo.

of the press was annihilated; and, with a happy correspondence, the Holy Inquisition was re-established in all its detestable tyranny over the souls and bodies of mankind.* To eradicate the taints of heresy left by the presence

* The decree issued for the re-establishment of this bloody tribunal, appeared on the 21st of July; and, as a curious as well as important historical relic, it is subjoined below, with the statement of this curious fact, that it was countersigned by Don Macanoz, whose grandfather passed a great part of his life in the prisons of the Inquisition, and died in exile for his writings against this execrable tribunal.—

Decree for the Re-establishment of the Inquisition.

“The glorious title of ‘Catholic,’ which distinguishes us amongst all other Christian princes, is owing to the perseverance of the kings of Spain; who have not tolerated in their states any other religion than the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman: this title imposes on me the duty of rendering myself worthy of it by every means which heaven has placed in my power. The late disturbances, and the war which during six years has afflicted all the provinces of the kingdom—the military occupation by foreign troops of different sects, almost all infected with sentiments of hatred against our religion—the disorders which have been the infallible results of it, and the little care which has been taken of the interests of our holy religion during these unhappy times—all these motives combined have given scope to the ill-disposed, who no longer are restrained; dangerous principles have been introduced, and taken root in our states, through the same means by which they have spread in other countries. Desiring, therefore, to remedy so great an evil, and preserve amongst our subjects the holy religion of Jesus Christ, which they have ever loved, and in which they have lived, and wish to live, whether on account of the personal obligation of there being no other ordained to princes who should reign over them, according to the fundamental laws which I have promised and sworn to maintain, or because this religion is the most proper for preventing intestine dissensions among my people, and promoting the tranquillity which they need, I have deemed it necessary, in the present circumstances, that the tribunal of the Holy Office shall resume the exercise of its jurisdiction. Because learned and virtuous prelates, many respectable corporations and grave personages, ecclesiastics and seculars, have explained to me, that Spain owes to this tribunal the happiness of having been untainted, in the sixteenth century, with the errors which were the causes of so many evils amongst other nations; and that, on the contrary, at that very period, ours cultivated the sciences with distinction, and produced a crowd of great men celebrated for their learning and piety. It has been, besides, represented to me, that the oppressor of Europe did not omit to employ, as a most efficacious means of introducing the corruption and discord which so much facili-

of their Protestant allies, was alleged as one especial reason for restoring this tribunal. All that had been attempted as a reform of old abuses, was indiscriminately undone, and the former state of things restored, in all its absurdity. Even the council of Mesta, by the orders of which the royal flocks of Spain traverse the kingdom from one end to the other, to the great prejudice of all proprietors and farmers whose possessions lie in their way—even this tyrannic system was revived, in its plenitude of impolicy and injustice. In short, after so many and such violent convulsions as Spain had undergone, and which in most other kingdoms would have been necessarily followed by political changes of one sort or another, the nation seemed

tated his projects, the suppression of this tribunal, under the vain pretence that the progress of knowledge would not admit of its further existence; and the pretended general and extraordinary cortes, under the same pretext, and by favour of the constitution which it had tumultuously decreed, also abolished the Holy Office, to the great regret of the whole nation. From these causes, I have been urgently entreated to re-establish it in the exercise of all its functions: and, inclining to such just considerations, as well as to the desire expressed by my people, whose zeal for the religion of our forefathers has anticipated my orders, by hastening to recall spontaneously the inferior inquisitors of some provinces, I have resolved, that for the present the supreme council of the Inquisition, and the other tribunals of the Holy Office, shall resume their functions, according to the concession made to them by the sovereign pontiffs, on the demands of my august predecessors, by the prelates of dioceses, and by the kings who secured to them therein the full exercise—to maintain, in its double jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and civil, the laws existing in the year 1808, and those which on various occasions have been issued for preventing certain abuses. But as, independent of those ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject, and my intention being to perfect this establishment, so as to render it eminently useful to my subjects, I require, that, as soon as the said supreme council of the Inquisition shall be assembled, two of its members, in conjunction with two members of the council of Castile, each selected by me, shall examine the mode and means of procedure of the Holy Office in the processes, and relative to the inspection and prohibition of books; and if they find, that the interest of my subjects, or the rights of substantial justice, require any reform or change, they shall report it to me, and give me their reasons for it, in order that I may take the necessary and consequent measures.—(Signed) I, THE KING.—*Given at Madrid, the 21st of July, 1814.*”

destined to relapse into the same degenerate, despicable, and enfeebled state, from which it had so suddenly started at the call of patriotism.

Yet the apathy of this extraordinary people, though general, was not universal. In Cadiz, so long the last asylum of the cortes, the spirit of freedom and of resistance continued to survive. Some popular commotions took place; and the captain-general, Don Juan de Villaviciosa, appears to have had difficulty in restoring tranquillity. The university of Salamanca, with a spirit worthy of its reputation, called upon Ferdinand to remember his promise of convoking the cortes, and regulating, in concurrence with that body, the public taxes, and the laws which should determine the rights of the subjects. The guerillas also, partly from political motives, and partly from the predatory and military habits acquired during the war, continued in arms in different parts of the country; and the royal forces were directed against them, with orders to execute all prisoners by martial law. The kingdom was agitated by rumours of the return of the old king; and by more reasonable apprehensions, arising out of the perverse obstinacy of the government, the disorder of the finances, the discordant state of political opinions, and the convulsions of South America.

The gallant Espoz y Mina, the most distinguished among the guerilla chiefs, was, from the commencement of the Spanish war, understood to be fighting, as well for the liberties of the people, as for the independence of the kingdom. As a friend to the doctrines adopted in the constitution, he was an object of suspicion to the government, and received the royal orders to fix his residence at Pampeluna, as a retired officer; while the troops whom he had led through such extraordinary perils were placed under the command of the captain-general of Arragon. They were generally supposed to be influenced by the same sentiments, and were called, 'The Partida.' It would seem, that, alarmed by the discoveries which had taken place at Madrid, Mina resolved to try the fate of arms. He arrived at Pampeluna, and succeeded in scaling the walls of that strong fortress. But he found, that the

soldiers who had followed him were not to be relied upon, and therefore suddenly relinquished the undertaking. He dispersed his followers, and retreated into France, followed only by his nephew, a gallant young soldier, who had long languished in the dungeons of Vincennes, and a few officers. They were at first arrested by the French police; but, on application to Louis the Eighteenth, "Let the gentlemen be set at liberty," was the spirited and benevolent answer of the old sovereign; "the laws of France afford them hospitality: and it is farther our pleasure, that the commissary who arrested them be suspended from his office."

While the most violent excesses were committed against the patriotic party in the capital, under the sanction of priests, organized mobs, led on also by the clergy, were busily employed in fomenting cruel persecutions throughout the provinces against the constitutional authorities, and annihilating every vestige and emblem of freedom.* It may be argued, that the new order of things established by the cortes was not in accordance with the sentiments of the nation, from the apparent apathy with which the people viewed the course of tyranny pursued by the king. It should be recollected, however, that the generality of the population had so far assured themselves of the acquiescence of the monarch in favour of the constitution, that they had not provided against an alternative they had not anticipated. The Spanish people, therefore, are rather to be blamed for want of wary precaution, than censured for

* In the year 1812, when the constitutional code was promulgated, it was directed, by a decree of the cortes, that a marble slab, bearing the inscription of *Plaza de la Constitution*, in gilt letters, should be affixed, in conspicuous characters, in the principal square, or market-place, of each town throughout the monarchy. During the predominance of Ferdinand's despotism, these symbols of liberty were defaced and destroyed with every mark of indignity. "At present, (1821)" says Mr. Blaquiere, "there is scarcely a village in the Peninsula without its *Lapida*, which has been every where restored and consecrated amidst the rejoicings of the people. Such was the veneration in which these insignias of freedom were held by the patriots, that many contrived to preserve fragments, which have been restored to light since March last, and are now sought for as valuable relics."

want of energy in resistance. In the first moments of Ferdinand's abominable career, he was aided by the previous predilections of his subjects in his favour; and it was some time before their ill-placed confidence and attachment were destroyed by his perseverance in tyranny. They were scarcely aware of the manacles of slavery he was preparing, ere they found themselves bound in the fetters. There was, indeed, a part of the nation which foresaw, and avowed themselves ready to resist, the storm which was gathering. The Serviles of the court, and the fanatics among the priesthood, who dishonoured humanity by their barbarous cruelties, could not obtain any partisans at Cadiz, the cradle of Spanish liberty. The political chief there, Valdes, and the municipality, were amongst the first who addressed spirited remonstrances to the regency, representing the suspicious conduct of Ferdinand, pointing out its probable consequences, and urging the cortes to adopt such measures as were best calculated to secure the constitution against the designs of its enemies. Some severe reflections have been directed against the Spanish army, for passively submitting to, and acquiescing in, the system of persecution now set on foot; but, in justice to the army, it must be recorded, that, excepting the corps under Elio, few of the military participated in manifestations of approval, while others, both officers and men, shewed a disposition, if sanctioned by their superiors, to fight in defence of liberties that had been so dearly earned. It must also be admitted, that the constitutional government had committed a gross error in their conduct towards the soldiery, by not more closely identifying the interests of the military with those of the citizen, and in not providing for their regular pay and general comforts. The aristocracy and the priesthood unhappily succeeded, to a considerable degree, in persuading a portion of the army, that their sufferings and privations were wholly occasioned by the mischievous tendency of the new order of things.

It is worthy of remark, that the warrant of arrest, dated from Valencia, which the king issued against the patriotic deputies, and the members of the constitutional government, bears the same date with the solemn declaration in which

he guaranteed the personal liberty of his subjects—a pretty strong illustration of the sincerity of Ferdinand in his patriotic professions! No sooner was the royal edict issued, than executed, and followed by the publication of a list of the proscribed in the court-newspaper, accompanied with comments, in which they were designated as traitors, and alluded to, in no very indirect terms, as fit objects of popular vengeance. Such indeed was the influence of these appeals to the passions of the mob, already instructed how to act, that a party of ruffians, headed by the vicar of La Trappe, actually assailed the prison in which they were confined, and would have sacrificed the victims, had it not been for the firm resistance made by the military guard. Let it be particularly noted, that this was a procedure sanctioned by *legitimacy*; if it had been adopted by a party designating itself *liberal*, it would immediately have been branded with the opprobrium of *revolutionary violence*.

As already noticed, decrees had been passed for restoring the religious corporations, opening the convents, re-establishing the Inquisition,* and ordaining the restitution of church

* That a universal detestation among humane and liberal men should prevail against the abominable cruelties of the Inquisition, is not to be wondered at; the most surprising circumstance is, that the horrid tribunal should find advocates in individuals, who, this obliquity of view apart, have been looked upon as men favourable to the happiness of the species. If individuals of such character, however, can be found, it furnishes a powerful illustration of the predominant influence which bigotry and superstition may exercise over a sense of equity and the feelings of humanity. In proof of this, it is only necessary to adduce the fundamental principles on which the Holy Office was originally founded, and the mode in which these principles have been acted upon. For this purpose, I shall subjoin the following extracts from the papers printed and circulated at Madrid after the re-establishment of the Constitution in 1820, and which, together with all the other laws relative to the Sacred Tribunal, remained in full force till the period of its suppression. The document, from which these articles are taken, is to be found in the second volume of Llorente's History.—

“Instructions directed to be observed in all the Tribunals of the Holy Office.

“1. The inquisitors can seize the culprit, immediately after his act of accusation is drawn out; and it is only in case of differing in their opinions, that the supreme council is to be consulted.—2. Imprisonment is always to be accompanied by the sequestration of property, allowing

property appropriated by the cortes to defray the expenses of the war, and the payment of the national debt. The regu-

merely the means of subsistence to the wife and children, if they are not able to work.—3. The culprits are to be placed in distinct cells; and they are not to be allowed to see their fathers, wives, children, parents, or relatives.—4. The advocate and confessor must have an especial license from the Holy Office to visit the culprits; and the former cannot enter without being accompanied by an inquisitor.—5. The declarations of the prisoners are always to be taken on oath; they are to be questioned relative to their genealogy and parentage, also where and to whom they have confessed.—6. The greatest care is to be taken, that the culprits shall not be informed of the state of their causes; nor is the motive of their arrest to be communicated until the trial is completed.—7. The fiscal is to accuse them of heresy generally, even when their crimes have been of a different nature. He should always persist in the first to prove the second, and be particular in ascertaining the mode of life previous to their entering the prison.—8. The fiscal is always to conclude his accusation by saying, '*If the intention is not sufficiently proved, the question (torture) is to be applied to the prisoner.*' The torment is to be presided by the inquisitors and ordinary.—9. The summaries and ratifications are to be read to the culprit, omitting all those parts which can enable him to know his accuser; and although the witness may have deposed in the first person, his testimony is to be read to the accused in the third person, as, *they saw, heard, or said he was concerned with such person, &c.* Blanks are to be left occasionally, so as to give rise to the conjectures and doubts of the accused.—10. The infamy which results from crimes chastised by the Sacred Tribunal, will descend to the children of those who suffer.—11. The qualifiers named by the inquisitor-general will censure all writings and propositions; and upon this censure is to be founded the sentence which the inquisitor-general will cause to be carried into execution."

Such were the frightful powers delegated to a corrupt, bigoted, and mercenary priesthood, whose sanguinary dispositions were invited to cruelty by a confiscation of the property of their victims. "This was the tribunal," says an address directed to the nation, "which, in the obscurity of night, tore the husband from the side of his wife, the father from the arms of his children, and these from the society of their parents, never to see each other more, without allowing any means of proving their innocence! This is the office which they called *Holy*, affirming that it was established for the honour and glory of God, though it lent itself to the caprice and blasphemy of voluptuousness and oppression: it is the same tribunal which condemned and executed 2500 ecclesiastics as *heretics*, for not having voted in favour of Philip the Second being crowned King of Portugal! Finally, such are the rules, under which it is estimated that above five millions of human beings have been either tried, or condemned and executed!"—Llorente has

larly organized system of persecution, proscription, and punishments, of violence and injustice, which followed, is

performed an essential service, not only to his country, but to all Christendom, by his most valuable 'History of the Inquisition.' He was a man of irreproachable character, and withal an ecclesiastic; circumstances which add no little authority to his narrative. In that work will be found such an exhibition of the horrifying procedure of the inquisitors as is almost beyond human credibility, unless it was supported by the strongest historical evidence. "The law which gives the right of torture to the inquisitors," says this writer, "is still in full force," (1818,) nay, the fiscal always demands it as a matter of course, in his act of accusation; and I have seen prisoners," adds Llorente, "shudder, and tremble to fainting, on hearing the act which closes with this demand!" It is not possible even to enumerate the numberless acts of refined barbarity chargeable upon the Holy Office, within the compass of a note; it shall suffice to quote one instance, not because it is the most flagrant, but the most recent, and notice the instruments of torture employed in the diabolic procedure: "Don Miguel Solano, curate of Esca, in Arragon, was the last Spanish priest condemned by the Inquisition in Spain. Solano was a man of learning and genius. Having carefully examined the New Testament, he was immediately struck with the wide difference between the religious practice of his day, and that which is prescribed in the sacred volume. Impressed with the necessity of reforming the mode of religious worship, his scruples were addressed to Don Lopez Gil, bishop of Saragossa. The answer of the latter not reaching Solano, he communicated his opinions to some professors of the university there, and was by them denounced to the Holy Office. The manner in which he was pursued (first betrayed by his friend, a priest, and then inveigled into the gripe of the Sacred Tribunal) proves that it had lost nothing of its persecuting character. After trying and convicting the prisoner of a departure from the canonical doctrines of the Roman Church, every possible effort was made, but in vain, to convert him: he was therefore condemned to be burnt alive. Either unwilling or afraid to solemnize an Auto-da-Fé in 1805, the inquisitors adopted a plan which answered every purpose: An old member of Solano's flock at Escar, the village apothecary, was induced to depose, that his spiritual guide had betrayed frequent symptoms of a deranged intellect. Although this contrivance precluded the necessity of burning the unfortunate curate, he had too much sensibility to resist an expedient, which had been often resorted to in other countries as well as in Spain: falling dangerously ill, when he heard of the new process against his understanding, Solano survived the shock only a few days. His last reply to those who endeavoured to convert him in his dying hour was, that he could not renounce his opinions without the fear of offending God, and betraying the interests of truth."—Of the instruments of torture, the same high authority, on which the foregoing statements are

deserving of especial observation, as elucidating the true character of this sanguinary period.

given, speaks as follows: "The bed, or ladder, of torture, (*Ecalera*, as it is called in Spanish,) was composed of a frame sufficiently large to receive the body of the victim, having a bar passing through the centre, on which the back-bone rested, so that both extremities were much lower than his middle; as the head was also lower than the feet, respiration became exceedingly painful and difficult, while the position itself occasioned excruciating pain in all the members." Llorente compares the application of the cords to the mode adopted by the muleteers in loading their mules, when a stick is introduced under the cords, and then twisted round, so as to prevent the load from being loosened: this stick, used by the torturer of the Sacred Tribunal, is called the *garrote*. Pouring water into the mouth and nostrils, whence breathing was first rendered impossible, must have been a dreadful operation. It was also customary to stuff a piece of linen into the mouth, and let the water fall in drops; so that it required an hour to absorb a very small quantity. It frequently happened, that the rag was drawn out saturated with blood, proceeding from the rupture of the vessels either in the lungs or parts adjoining. There were two other modes of torture practised in this country; that of the cord, and fire. The first was performed by raising the victim up to a considerable height, and then letting him fall suddenly to within a few inches of the ground, so as to dislocate his arms or other limbs. The torture by fire was the most rigorous of all: it consisted in rubbing the soles of the feet with some lard, or other inflammable substance, and then lighting a fire close to them. This was the most frequent mode resorted to in South America and the Netherlands. "I will not stop," says Llorente, "to describe all the modes of torment exercised by order of the inquisitors; this task has been performed with the utmost exactness by several writers: I shall merely add, that not one of them can be accused of exaggeration. I have read many original records of trials, which filled me with horror; nor could I regard those who had recourse to such means in any other light, than men coolly and deliberately barbarous. The supreme council was frequently obliged to interdict the torture more than once in the same trial: this regulation was, however, rendered nugatory by an abominable subterfuge; the cessation of torture, rendered necessary when the victim's life happened to be endangered, was thenceforth called a suspension; so that the instant an accused recovered from the effects of his first essay, a second, and even a third, was made. It is quite unnecessary," continues he, "to dictate the judgment which future generations will pronounce on such conduct. The chamber of torment was always under ground, and the approach managed so as to prevent the cries of the tortured from being heard, even within the walls of the Holy Office itself." And he thus concludes the chapter in which the torture is treated of: "My pen refuses to retrace the picture of those

CHAPTER IV.

Appointment of a special Commission—Punishment of the Patriots—
 The proscribed are secretly sent from Madrid—Excessive Cruelty
 exercised towards them—Gloomy Prospect of the Constitutionals
 —Apathy of the English Cabinet for the Cause of Spanish Freedom
 —Ought to have remonstrated—Former Recognition of the Spanish
 Code by England and Russia—Restitution of Church Property—
 System of Finance and Taxation—Selfish Conduct of the Priest-
 hood—Royal Order in their Favour—Corrupt State of the Court and
 Tribunals—Banditti—Melchor's Band—Remonstrance to Ferdinand
 by El Empecinado—Union of the Patriots, and Formation of secret
 Societies—Assemblage of the Army at Cadiz.

WHEN despotic governments decide upon measures of rigour, or the most flagrant injustice, the means employed for their accomplishment are usually correspondent with the infamous character of their object. It is always convenient for them, however, to give the most plausible

horrors; for there can be nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion, so often recommended by Christ to his followers: and yet there is not, even in the nineteenth century, any law that abolishes the torture!" Thus far Llorente.—Subjoined is the account given by Mr. Blaquiere of the kind of prisons in which the victims of this odious tribunal were incarcerated: "The subterranean cells," says this writer, "were of different depths. Those at Saragossa and Madrid, which I have seen, though not more than from twelve to fifteen feet below the level of the street, were damp and loathsome; nor can I imagine, how any person could possibly exist for many days in such dreadful receptacles. Some of them reminded me of the *damusos*, noticed in my letters from Sicily, and used in the criminal procedure of that island. I understand, from an eye-witness, who visited Valladolid soon after the entry of the French there in 1809, that there were three dungeons in the Holy Office of that place, above thirty feet deep; and that they could be entered only from the top. This contrivance was, no doubt, suggested by the subterranean vaults of ancient Rome, destined for starving the vestals who had transgressed the barbarous vow. Who knows, too, but that many of our fellow-creatures have shared a similar fate at Valladolid! It must be confessed, the agents of the Holy Office were not very particular from whom they borrowed new modes of punishment: their first object seems to have been that of never omitting any opportunity of tormenting poor human nature. It is very generally believed, that a portion, at least, of the instruments of

colouring to their plans of execution, but taking care that their machinery shall be sufficiently powerful to effect the purpose intended. The ordinary laws of Spain were inadequate to gratify the vindictive spirit of Ferdinand and his unprincipled advisers; and a special commission was therefore appointed, composed altogether of such as were most favourable to the old order of things, and had manifested the greatest zeal in opposing the constitution. Montesquieu has truly observed, that this species of tribunal has done more towards the destruction of liberty, than any other institution he was acquainted with: and another popular writer, of the present day, has observed, that these unconstitutional substitutes for the ordinary organs of the law, are only distinguished from assassins, by their preceding the work of death with the ceremony of a sentence. This conclusion is justified by frequent occurrences in other countries besides Spain.

At the head of this sanguinary persecution was placed Don Pedro Macanaz,* who sustained the specious title of

torture, were restored, with the Holy Office, in 1814; and if reports, which I have heard both at Madrid and Saragossa, be true, it must have been resorted to in several instances. Amongst the memoranda found on the walls of the Inquisition at Madrid, one, after declaring the innocence of the writer, points out his mother as the accuser: another seems to have been traced by a victim upon whom the torture of *La Pendola* had been exercised. This was performed by placing the sufferer in a chair sunk into the earth, and letting water fall on the crown of his head from a certain height, in single drops. Though far from appearing so, the *Pendola* is supposed to have been the most painful operation practised by the defenders of the faith." In a third inscription, dated on the 11th of November, 1818, the writer complains of having been shut up for a political offence, and by means of a false denunciation.—Although this note has been extended to an immoderate length, the interesting nature of its subject will plead its apology; and particularly as it is not likely that the topic will again be adverted to in the course of the work.

* This miscreant, who was most active in denouncing and punishing the constitutionalists, soon met, from his royal master, that disgrace he so richly deserved. Towards the close of the year 1815, Ferdinand, dissatisfied, rather from the minister's former pliability to the government of King Joseph, than from any deficiency in his zeal against the constitutionalists, determined upon his removal from power. The king went to Macanaz's house in person, ordered a seal to be put upon all his papers, and sent him to prison. It was not, however, until

minister of grace and justice. Under this man, a number of the *Serviles* were placed, prepared with all the vituperant weapons of calumny, that iniquity could employ. Against the patriots, it was alleged by this coadjuvancy, that the prisoners were guilty of a design to abrogate the monarchical system in Spain, and introduce a republican form of government; the constitution of Cadiz was stigmatized as a servile copy of that framed by the national assembly of France, and which had for its object the destruction of religion, the dethronement of the monarch, and the slavery of the people. It was also industriously circulated by the court-faction, in order to justify its baseness, that 8000 jacobins had subscribed to raise a fund for erecting the projected republic; that arms and ammunition were prepared for this object; and that the arrival of the king had alone discomfited the plan for overturning the monarchy.

some days afterwards, that the extent of his punishment, or the nature of his crimes, were made known: a royal order, perfectly original in its kind, was then published, in which Ferdinand reviews the conduct of those who were the companions of his exile, and, after eulogizing a few for their attachment and fidelity, denounces others, as having betrayed the confidence reposed in them, particularly Don Pedro Macanaz, against whom numberless serious complaints had been made at different times; but such was the opinion entertained of him by the king, that he would not listen to them before he had convinced himself of the minister's perfidy. The royal order further proceeded to notice, that, having detected proofs of guilt meriting a much severer punishment, his majesty was determined to cut the evil at the root, and therefore ordered, that he should be dismissed from the ministry, deprived of all his honours, and confined in the castle of St. Anton, in Galicia, during the royal pleasure. The authority upon which this statement is made, adds, that Macanaz had been detected in acts of the grossest bribery and corruption, disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, and other places of profit, and selling justice, or withholding it, in proportion as the applicants came provided with the means of purchase. He had a number of accomplices in the nefarious transactions which disgraced his administration; many of them were named in the decree, and either heavily fined, or banished from the capital. Another alleged crime against the minister, and that which probably operated most powerfully against him, was, that he had repeatedly solicited employment from Joseph Buonaparte; a charge which was also made against the Duke de San Carlos, and old Escoiquiz, both of whom seem to have been involved in the degradation of Macanaz.

The special commission, over which Don Vilella presided, assumed these data as facts, and proceeded to suborn witnesses in proof. "But the most palpable dereliction of law and justice connected with the prosecution," says the historian, "was a circular, addressed to various members of the cortes, many of whom had signed the representation delivered by Rosales to the king at Valencia. Twenty-one members of the cortes were *honoured* with this communication; and seventeen had the baseness to designate a number of their colleagues as friendly to a Spanish republic. Yet such was the paucity of evidence against the denounced patriots, that a second and a third commission were not hardy enough to pronounce sentence against the accused. The interposition of royal, shall I say of *legitimate*, authority, decided the question of guilt. A royal order, dated the 15th of December, 1815, decreed the punishment of nearly seventy individuals, composing what might be considered the soul of the liberal party in Spain. Independently of this list," says Mr. Blaquiere, "I have collected the names of four hundred and fifty individuals, of all ranks and professions, sentenced by the three commissions; (for three of them were appointed in succession before the end of the year 1815;) of these, sixty were sent to the presidios, and distributed amongst the prisons of the Peninsula, forty-three exiled, one hundred and sixty-five mulcted and to pay costs, twenty-six deprived of their places, and one hundred and sixty admonished. The punishment of those who were known to be rich, was generally commuted for a large fine. It must be noted, that the adherents of King Joseph were dealt with as rigorously as those who had been concerned in forming and supporting the constitutional code. By the Valencian decree alone, above 30,000 families were proscribed, and robbed of their civil rights!"

The historians of this period of calamity observe, that, in addition to the regents, secretaries of state, and deputies, arrested by order of the court, the royal decree embraced a great number of generals, civilians, lawyers, and others, who had eminently distinguished themselves by their talents and activity during the struggle against the French. Sen-

tence of imprisonment for four, six, eight, and ten years, was passed in the most summary manner; and those who had the good fortune to escape, were either outlawed, or condemned to death. Amongst the latter, were Count Toreno, Mina, and Florez Estrada. Some respect, indeed, was paid to the age, high rank, and extreme popularity, of the regents; and Ferdinand satisfied himself by merely confining them to their native places, where they were ordered to remain during the royal pleasure. Augustin Arguelles, and Canga Arguelles, were each condemned to eight years' confinement; the former at Ceuta, and the latter in the castle of Peniscola, in Valencia. Numerous other deputies, who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their patriotic exertions, shared a similar fate, being shut up in strong fortresses, or transported to the African coast. The mode adopted for carrying the royal sentences into execution, was as objectionable, as the nature of the punishments was cruel and unjust. On this topic, the following detail is derived from unquestionable authority. The preamble of the royal order enjoined, that the greatest secrecy should be observed in preparing the vehicles and other means of transporting the prisoners to their respective destinations: every thing was to be in readiness by a certain night, when, having chosen the "most silent hour," the officers of justice were to proceed to the different prisons, cause the persons comprised in the decree to dress with all possible haste, and hurry them off before the dawn, so as that the inhabitants of Madrid might remain in total ignorance of the event until the next day. The whole of the culprits were to be at their places of confinement within twenty days; and those who discovered any opposition to the king's orders were prosecuted with the utmost rigour. It was likewise ordered, that none of the unfortunate prisoners should remove from the places of their exile, without special permission from his majesty; and whoever of them attempted to make their escape, were to suffer the penalty of death. It was also finally announced, that neither sickness, nor any other cause, was to be admitted as a plea for disobedience to the terms of the royal mandate. As an aggravation of this despotic cruelty, a special decree

passed under the sign-manual, addressed to the governor of Ceuta, which directed that Arguelles, and three other deputies, the companions of his exile, should not be permitted the use of pen, ink, and paper; that they should not be allowed to see their family or friends; nor were they to be suffered to receive any written communication whatever from them. For the utmost observance of all these restrictions, the governor was made responsible at his peril.

While Ferdinand was pursuing this career of cruelty and oppression, the people opened their eyes to the misplaced confidence they had reposed in his character: they beheld not his iron rule with apathy, but were forced to submit to it from necessity. The army had been modelled according to the wishes and views of his abandoned advisers: every officer of influence, who was known or suspected to be favourable to constitutional liberty, had been removed or shut up in prison, and others appointed, whose support of the measures of the court could be calculated upon with tolerable certainty.

In the midst of that gloom and dismay which surrounded the political horizon of Spain, not a single ray of hope darted across the dark profound, to enliven the dreariness, or encourage the efforts, of expiring freedom. The perfect indifference with which the representatives of foreign states witnessed a system of tyranny, that filled every humane and reflecting mind in Europe with horror and indignation, can be accounted for in no other way, than that the great powers of Europe favoured the wish of Ferdinand to restore the old despotism in all its extended fulness. If ever there was a case, in which amicable expostulation, if not open remonstrance, could not only be justified, but was even imperatively called for, it was one like the present, in which the persecution embraced the legislators and members of a government, whose *legitimacy* had been acknowledged, and alliance sought, by all the belligerent powers, except France. "Yet I have not," says Mr. Blaquier, "after the most scrupulous inquiry, been able to ascertain, that any of the numerous diplomatists, accredited to the court of Madrid, offered a single word, or wrote one solitary line,

to stay the proceedings, or mitigate the sufferings of those selected for punishment, and who had been most active in opposing the French armies. No! not an effort was made to save the patriots, or prevent the irreparable disgrace which Ferdinand and his advisers were bringing so rapidly upon royalty."

It has before been observed, that the British ambassador particularly distinguished himself in paying his court to the king while he yet remained at Valencia, and before his Catholic majesty had signified his intention of rejecting the constitutional code: the British General Whittingham escorted him into his capital, at the head of the cavalry, when, it is said, no Spanish general could be found to perform that duty; and the splendid fetes that followed, given, in honour of the monarch and his court, by the English minister, sufficiently demonstrate with what zeal and sincerity our cabinet cultivated the good opinion of Ferdinand. Even while the scenes of oppression and cruelty above narrated were exhibiting, the worthless king was honoured by the Prince Regent of England, through the medium of Sir Henry Wellesley, with the order of the garter; while he himself received the highest and most honourable of the Spanish orders. It is hardly possible to speak of the policy of the European courts, in regard to Spain, in terms of too severe reprehension; but, of them all, that of England appears to have been the most extraordinary. The distinguished services we had rendered the nation in the recovery of independence; the close connection that subsisted between our government and the exiled patriots, while they directed the Spanish councils; and the generosity with which we had acted towards Ferdinand himself—gave us a right to speak to him in the language of strong remonstrance. Our omission of this obvious duty at once gave the infatuated king a right to conclude we were not displeased with his career of despotism, and would inspire him with confidence in the further prosecution of his perfidious measures; while it naturally created an unfriendly feeling among the Spanish people towards this country.

In justification of the hostile conduct of the continental powers, and of the apathy of England towards the new

constitution of Spain, it has been urged, that it emanated from an *illegitimate* source, and could not be acknowledged with a due regard to Ferdinand's regal authority. However this reasoning might have applied to Austria and Prussia, it could not be adopted by England or Russia, both which powers had recognized the constitutional code, and the authority of the rulers with whom it originated. In proof of this fact, it is only necessary to advert to historical documents.

By the abdications extorted at Bayonne in May 1808, from Charles and Ferdinand, the Spaniards who took up arms for the independence of their country were left without legitimate authority, and, indeed, without acknowledged leaders. This defect was the subject of triumph to their enemies, and of deep regret to their friends. In the midst of their enemies, and at the season of their utmost distress, the Emperor of Russia refused to acknowledge their title to be parties to any negotiation, and would call them by no other name than *the Insurgents of Spain*. But their disunion and want of chiefs were viewed with other eyes by Lord Wellesley, who, though he had wielded with a vigorous hand the force of an absolute monarchy, had too much wisdom not to discover that liberty alone was the source of union and obedience. By him, during his embassy to Spain, the calling together of the cortes appears to have been first proposed,* for the purpose of redressing grievances and reforming abuses, as well as that of providing for the public defence. That assembly, convoked by the regency, met, in September 1810, at Cadiz, then almost the only spot in the Spanish territory which was not occupied by a foreign force. The constitution was promulgated by their authority in March 1812, and was received as the fundamental law, wherever the French arms did not silence the public voice. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this constitution, it is impossible to conceive any authority more legitimate than that of those who framed it. They were not a revolutionary assem-

* See a despatch from Marquis Wellesley to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated Seville, 15th September, 1809.

bly. After conquest had destroyed all lawful authority in Spain, the cortes were called together, to give their country a regular government. To restore internal order, and to secure national independence, were the objects of their convocation. By preserving a national government for the people, they also preserved a crown for the king. An authority, thus originating, and thus sanctioned by the obedience of all true Spaniards, was recognized also by all those foreign states who were not subject to the domination of France. England, indeed, had very early recognized a government which had far less pretensions to be considered as national than the cortes. So early as the 4th of July 1808, an order of council was issued, directing all hostilities against Spain to cease, in consequence "*of the glorious efforts of the Spanish nation to effect the deliverance of their country from the usurpation of France, and of the assurances which his majesty had received from several provinces of Spain, of their amicable dispositions towards this kingdom.*" On the 14th of January 1809, the treaty of London was concluded between his Britannic majesty and the supreme junta of Spain, containing the important stipulation, that Great Britain "never would acknowledge any King of Spain, but Ferdinand the Seventh, and his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation should acknowledge.

These acts were much more than a recognition of the legitimacy of the junta; they were continued towards the regency; and, by necessary consequence, implied a recognition of the cortes which the regency had convoked. The alliance was accordingly maintained and confirmed under that assembly; and an occasion arose, in which England made an express declaration of its legitimate and supreme authority. In answer to a proposal for negotiation, in April 1812, by M. Maret, on the part of Napoleon, he was informed, that England could not consent to any treaty, in which it was not acknowledged, that "the royal authority in Spain was vested in the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand the Seventh, and his heirs, and in the extraordinary assembly of the cortes, now invested with the powers of government in that kingdom. Another still more solemn

recognition of their government followed, which recent events have rendered very memorable. On the 20th of July, 1812, when Napoleon appeared to be making a triumphant entry into Russia, with all the nations and sovereigns of the continent in his train—before he had experienced disaster, and when there was no reasonable prospect of a reverse—a treaty was concluded at Weliki-Louki, between the Emperor of Russia and the cortes of Spain, of which the third article deserves to be cited at length: “His majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, *acknowledges the LEGITIMACY of the general and extraordinary assembly of the Cortes held at Cadiz, AS WELL AS THE CONSTITUTION WHICH THEY HAVE DECREED AND SANCTIONED.*” Whether this stipulation amounted to a guarantee, might be a question; but certainly no event in the annals of mankind, not even in the history of the partition of Poland, could have prepared the world to expect, that, only a few years after, Russia should represent the existence of this very constitution as a reason for breaking off all intercourse with Spain, and almost as a ground of war against that country.

But to return to the conduct of the Spanish cabinet. The profligate extravagance of Charles the Fourth, encouraged by Godoy and the panders of the court, had brought the finances into a state of the utmost disorder, and almost annihilated the national credit. To remedy the evils arising from this source, one of the first measures adopted by the government of King Joseph was, to suppress the monastic establishments, and appropriate their revenues to pay off the national debt. The wisdom and justice of this measure were subsequently recognized by the cortes, who confirmed the salutary decree. A great number of the estates were accordingly sold by auction, and many had even passed into the hands of a third purchaser. Considering the vast extent of these national domains, whose transfer and diffusion into a great number of hands had already begun to operate favourably on the national credit, nothing but the excess of folly or imbecility could have suggested their restoration to the former possessors. Ferdinand and his advisers, however, proved themselves

capable of such an act of madness. A royal order decreed the restitution of all church property, whether belonging to the convents or inquisition, without making any distinction between the estates which were actually sold, those remaining in the hands of the first purchaser, or those that had passed into other hands; and as neither the purchase-money was to be returned, nor the smallest remuneration made for buildings and other improvements, the church became considerably advantaged by this measure of robbery and spoliation. Thousands of individuals, both natives and foreigners, who had purchased church lands on the faith of the French and national decrees, were involved in irretrievable ruin by the iniquitous proceeding. Every act, indeed, of the restored king, proved the entire ascendancy which the priesthood had acquired over him and his counsels. When the cortes sequestered the redundant part of church property, they also took away those immunities of the clergy which exempted them from the payment of various charges on tithes and other property; but soon after the king had given them back their immense possessions with increase, he remitted also their obligations to these charges.* All other classes of the community, by the protracted exigencies of the war, were reduced to comparative poverty; while thousands of the monks and priests, who had been recently taught to live by their own industry, or assisted in defending their country, now flocked to their convents, with accumulated means of gratifying their voluptuous propensities. In the mean time, to supply the defalcation in the revenue occasioned by this profuse liberality to the priesthood, the king's minis-

* This most indulgent decree is couched in the following terms.—“The esteem and consideration in which I hold the clergy of my kingdom, and of which they have rendered themselves so worthy by their piety and zeal for the good of the state; the confidence I entertain, that they will hasten, as they have always done, to contribute with generosity to the wants of the state—determine me to exempt the property and tithes of the clergy from those imposts and contributions to which they were subjected by the decrees of January 25th, 1811, and June 16th, 1812, issued by the cortes, self-styled ‘general and extraordinary.’ These decrees will therefore be regarded as null and void.—FERDINAND.”

ters employed all their art in devising new taxes to carry on the government, and in furnishing themselves with resources for their base purposes. In addition to fresh imposts on houses, lands, and articles of consumption, exorbitant duties were laid on the imports of every country in amity with Spain: and, to shew how grateful Ferdinand felt for the gigantic efforts made by England in his favour, British commerce was more heavily taxed than that of any other nation!

In Spain, as in every other country where the experiment has been tried, it was found, that additional imposts, with a diminished power of meeting them, is futile. The court had recourse to forced loans; and, on this occasion, it is worthy of remark, that, though the clergy, for whose sake the nation had been reduced to this deplorable condition, were emphatically appealed to, they could not be prevailed upon to contribute more than a tenth part of the sum required of them, notwithstanding the reimbursement was guaranteed on a very productive tax. So much for the *gratitude* of monks and priests! This is a tolerably striking proof, how little the Catholic church in Spain sympathized with the sufferings of the people, or cared for the embarrassments of the state.

Those politicians who are incessantly opposed to reforms of every description in the affairs of nations, usually found their resistance upon this plea, that the relaxation of regal power opens the way to the ascendancy of popular influence, and that in proportion as the latter prevails, the securities of a stable government are diminished. In proof of this, we are frequently directed to a view of the *worst* parts of national changes, and, from incidental or partial excesses, are required to infer conclusions against them, without taking into account the good which they embrace. This kind of argument, however, is triumphantly refuted, in reference to Spanish affairs. Let a fair comparison be instituted between the government of the cortes from 1810 to 1814, and from 1820 to the present time, (1823,) with the frightful reign of Ferdinand during the six years of his absolute sway, and it will require little penetration to perceive, and but a slight portion of candour to acknow-

ledge, that justice, moderation, and wisdom, were as conspicuous in the public acts of the cortes, as were oppression, cruelty, and folly, in those of the *legitimate* king. Some specimens have already been adduced, in the foregoing pages, of the wretchedness of the Spanish nation, arising from palpable misrule. Of the results of this abominable system, it is necessary also to offer some account; and I cannot do this more effectively, than by adopting the description of a writer who has proved himself eminently qualified for such an undertaking.

“In consequence of the disorder in the finances, produced more immediately by the causes that have been stated, an impossibility presented itself, on the part of government, to gratify the rapaciousness of the Servile faction, or even to remunerate the legitimate services of the public functionaries. Hence arose a system of bribery and corruption unequalled in the most abandoned period of Spanish history. The daily traffic in places, even of the highest rank—the facility of bribing the judges and their dependents, not to mention the various other means resorted to for influencing the decrees of the tribunals—were matters so well known, and of such public notoriety, that to adduce a few isolated cases might appear invidious; particularly where the whole community seemed to be carried along by the fatal example of those who had usurped all the power of the state. Each head of a department, every judge and other public functionary, had his train of agents, who coalesced with him in the work of corruption. As to the court, there was no means of obtaining patronage or protection there, except through the influence of money, or prostitution of virtue. All the avenues to the royal presence were occupied by persons ever ready to take a bribe, or abuse the confidence of their master; and although Ferdinand occasionally shewed a disposition to hearken to complaints, the myrmidons who surrounded him took good care that the redress of grievances, however flagrant, should not be carried into execution. With respect to the ministers of state, the practice of offering them bribes, through secretaries and other followers, had become so common, that it ceased to excite either indignation or

surprise. Was a lucrative appointment to be obtained, a contract entered into, or a trading-license procured, the applicant had only to 'put money in his purse,' wait on the minister's confidential man of business, and he was sure of success, except another had come provided with a higher sum. Did any one feel anxious to obtain a favourable decision in the courts of law, he hastened to the judge or fiscal, told his story, and presented a *douceur*; upon which, positive assurances of support were given, even though the termination of the causes might never be contemplated. When favours were to be solicited by those who could not themselves visit the capital, a wife, a sister, or other female relative, was deputed to supply their place. "Of the immense numbers who were thus employed," says our authority of the date of 1820, "I have been confidently informed, that very few succeeded in obtaining the object of their solicitude, without sacrifices which none but villains, hardened in profligacy, and callous to the dictates of virtue, would have required. The antechambers of ministers and court-favourites were constantly thronged with females of various ranks and ages, from a duchess down to a peasant's daughter." Some idea of the estimation in which many of these ladies were held, may be formed, when it is added, without fear of contradiction, that the libertines of the capital were in the habit of frequenting these female levees, for the sole purpose of cultivating the good opinion of, and forming assignations with, the fair suitors.

If, upon any occasion, a litigant happened to obtain a favourable decree in the courts, his opponent, by paying a sufficient bribe, found no difficulty in procuring a royal order to suspend, or even to reverse, the judgment. Of the numerous anecdotes in circulation, to illustrate this singular but disgusting fact, it is only necessary to mention the case of Madame Piedra of Cadiz. Property to the amount of 18,000,000 reals having been withheld from this lady by the executors of her late husband, she went to law for its recovery; and a verdict was given in her favour by the supreme tribunal of Seville and the council of Castile. Notwithstanding the exact uniformity of these two decisions,

her adversaries, the holders of the property, succeeded in procuring a royal order, through the medium of Lozano de Torres, (minister of grace and justice!) by which the above decrees were suspended; nor has she to this day been able to obtain any further satisfaction. Referring to the tribunals, every shadow of equity and justice had disappeared in them: the only care of those appointed to administer the laws, seemed to be that of increasing the number of litigants; for they never dreamt of terminating a cause once submitted to their consideration. Such was the facility of throwing any person into prison, and the avidity for victims, that it was only necessary for the accuser to appear before a judge, go through the ceremony of making his declaration,—and the object of hatred or revenge, no matter how innocent, whether a relative or friend, was instantly confined to a dungeon, there to remain for an indefinite period. It ought to be added, in order to complete the picture, that, of the many thousands thus committed during the reign of terror, and where the parties proved their perfect innocence, there is not an instance on record of any punishment being inflicted on their base calumniators.

While the various commissions for the trial of the patriots were occupied in prosecuting for political opinions, the civil courts did not fail to encourage that system of endless litigation which formed so prominent a feature under the former reign. Nor was the Inquisition idle: this tribunal possessed all the powers with which it had been originally invested; numerous arrests took place by its mandates; and although the mode of punishing its victims may have been, in many instances, less cruel than heretofore, the motives of arrest and imprisonment were equally unjust and frivolous.

The inevitable consequences of this corrupt and iniquitous system of rule, were almost coeval with its commencement:—industry and commerce became as it were extinct; all the public works projected or begun by the cortes were abandoned; the charitable institutions and hospitals were also shamefully neglected; while the prisons of the Peninsula became one general scene of disease,

wretchedness, and immorality. Driven to the last resource of poverty—goaded to madness by their tyrants, civil, religious, and political—as well as encouraged by the weakness of the government—numbers of the peasantry left the fields, where cultivation held out no hopes of reward, and, joining the numerous deserters from the army, formed themselves into banditti, who scoured the province, impeding all communication, and spreading terror in every direction. The organization of these marauders, and the perfect impunity with which their depredations were continued for several years, was never exceeded, even in a country celebrated for such associations. It would in fact have been impossible for a well-disciplined body of regular troops, led on by an able general, to obtain more complete possession of that portion of Estremadura through which the high road from Lisbon to Madrid passes, than the well-known band of Melchor, composed of many hundred individuals, most of whom had served in the guerilla corps during the war of independence.”*

* “The depredations of this band were continued for more than three years. When they did not assassinate, they were in the habit of retaining the captives till ransomed: the sums demanded depended on the rank of the prisoner, and his probable means of payment. Several English travellers were plundered and sacrificed by them. Melchor, their chief, was one of the most cool and determined robbers of modern times; but without a particle of that chivalrous spirit which distinguished his predecessors of the seventeenth century, or like those whom Le Sage and Schiller have converted into such fascinating heroes. Whenever there happened to be a dearth of travellers on the road, Melchor took post in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo, or some other town in its vicinity: hence letters were despatched to one or two rich proprietors, desiring they would drive so many head of cattle, deposit certain articles of merchandise, or a sum of money, in a particular spot, on such a day, at the peril of their lives. One of the commission which was at last named, to rid the province of this terrific association, and with whom I travelled, from Saragossa to Madrid, has assured me he had heard of no single instance in which these peremptory invitations of Melchor were not scrupulously obeyed. ‘Had it been otherwise,’ said he, ‘their fate would most assuredly have been decided by a stiletto.’—Next to Melchor’s band, that which occupied the passes of the Sierra Morena was most dreaded: like the predatory hero of Estremadura, its leader also enjoyed the privilege of impunity, until the ground occupied

Such is the portraiture drawn by Mr. Blaquiere of the wretched and miserable condition of the Spanish nation and government during the unchecked sway of Ferdinand and his corrupt counsellors. That every intermediate rank of the community, from the highest grandee to the most abject peasant, felt the oppressive hand of despotism, there can be no reason to doubt; but among the reflecting part of the people, and especially among that portion who had cherished from principle, and supported with ardour, the liberties of the country, the heavy yoke of tyranny was peculiarly galling. It has before been noticed, that Mina, with several other distinguished chiefs in the late war, offered to support the cortes in resisting the first aggressions of the king against the constitutional code. In this list were the illustrious names of Ballasteros, Villa Campa, and Porlier; and although the motives which induced the cortes to decline the proffered aid are worthy of respect, yet it is a subject of regret, that their scrupulousness should have led them to a decision which threw into the hands of an unworthy prince the unrestrained power of cruelty and oppression. Had these popular leaders been encouraged in their patriotic efforts, there is no likelihood that the reign of terror would have been so easily established, or so long protracted.

Though no immediate indication of popular resistance manifested itself for some considerable period after the bold enterprise of Mina had failed, discontent was rapidly spreading throughout the Spanish population, which was accelerated by the increasing severity of the *Serviles*. Menaced with death, exile, or imprisonment, the patriotic party was secretly meditating measures of retaliation, and a plan of organization was gradually forming, with a view of extirpating a monstrous tyranny, which was overwhelming the country with its destructive proceedings. The voice of

by his followers might be regarded as a conquered territory. To prove that neglect and indifference on the part of the government was alone the cause of their success, the special commission had not been appointed more than a few months, when it succeeded in dispersing the freebooters; of whom not less than seventy, with Melchor at their head, were executed."

complaint was heard, in sullen murmurs, in the capital and the provinces, while the known temper of the king's government operated as an effectual check against direct and general remonstrance. There is one instance of patriotic virtue and courage, however, which is worthy of record, and will be adverted to by future generations with sentiments of the profoundest veneration and applause. I allude to an energetic appeal made to the sovereign, in the midst of his career, of madness, by Don Juan Martin, better known by the appellation of *El Empecinado*, a soldier of distinguished bravery, a patriot of the first order. During the brighter days of the Spanish monarchy, an invaluable custom had obtained, that all persons having complaints to make, of oppression or irregularity in the system of administration, should have free access to the sovereign, to lay them before him. Considering the general public character of Ferdinand, it is somewhat extraordinary that he piqued himself upon preserving to his subjects this privilege; though scarcely an instance occurred of its exercise, that was not visited with marks of royal or ministerial persecution. *El Empecinado*, who had raised himself from an humble rank of life, beheld and lamented the degraded state of his country, and, braving the resentments of the court, availed himself of the privilege of presenting to the king a strong representation of the iniquitous conduct of the government. This production is a model of simplicity and natural eloquence, embracing, in a short compass, a luminous view of existing evils, and pointing out, with admirable acuteness, the true interests of the monarch. Whether viewed as an able exposition, or a valuable historical document, it possesses claims to especial regard; and I shall therefore transcribe an epitome of its contents, as contained in a work of great merit.

The old soldier begins by telling Ferdinand, that it is not a difficult task to flatter kings, though extremely hazardous to tell them the truth without incurring their displeasure. His next care is, to compliment those princes, who, animated by a desire of rendering their subjects happy, have listened with a favourable ear to representations tending to expose the turpitude of their ministers, or to suggestions

for the removal of public abuses. Taking it for granted that his royal master is amongst this number, and presuming, with good reason, on his own approved fidelity, the writer proceeds to contrast the joyful hopes of the nation on Ferdinand's return, with the character of those who had obtained his exclusive confidence and friendship: "Men," says he, "who had formerly sought the favour of Godoy, that rendered no service whatever during the war, but remained passive spectators, shut up in Cadiz or Ceuta, while thousands of their countrymen fell daily in the generous struggle for independence. Yet were these individuals grandees, and, for the most part, bred to a military life; consequently, well able to serve, both with their persons and immense wealth." A decided enemy to party distinctions, El Empecinado treats the *Liberales* and *Serviles* with equal indifference: his principal object is to impress the necessity of forgiveness and oblivion on the mind of his sovereign; particularly where a diversity of political opinion had been the inevitable result of recent circumstances. An address, full of good sense and moderation, is then put into the mouth of Ferdinand, which his majesty would have done wisely to adopt. The writer next asks, what those who give the king different advice, had obtained? The loss of South America; whose population—already exasperated by the cruelties exercised on them at home, and the imprisonment of their representatives in the cortes, as also the ruin of innumerable families in both hemispheres—were now driven to the last extremity of despair. Such was the effect of the policy pursued by his majesty's advisers, that some lamented the loss of parents, others their wives, husbands, or dearest relatives and friends; while all had to deplore victims, sacrificed in a ruinous and unnatural contest, or thrown into dungeons, which had been so filled that it became necessary to convert the asylums of religion into public prisons.—Alluding to another subject, the memorialist exclaims: "Let your majesty but deign to cast your eyes for a moment on the finances! What a chaos do they not present! They were but too justly compared to a labyrinth, more complicated than that of Crete: those who enter are irrecoverably lost; for it is in vain to attempt extricating

themselves. Such is the complication, such the obscurity, of this department, that, were an angel from heaven to descend and take charge of it, he must begin by totally destroying the misshapen edifice; otherwise he would experience the fate of all the others who have so vainly attempted its management." After calling upon the king to convoke the cortes, according to his solemn promise, as the sole means of restoring confidence and credit, a pointed allusion is made to the ingratitude shewn by the clergy, after the restitution of church property and exemption from the payment of taxes, while the people were borne down by their weight. Here the writer proves, that, instead of coming forward to remedy the evils created in a great measure by themselves, many individuals, entirely unconnected with government, had been found to make more advantageous offers, and greater personal sacrifices, than the whole hierarchy put together. With respect to the administration of justice, it is truly observed, that the provinces were a prey to lawsuits and litigation, mostly springing from the rapacity of the legal profession, and intestine division excited by faction. "Justice," says the writer, "no longer exists for Spain; arbitrary forms, and relentless persecution, having usurped its place. The laws are trampled on: calumny and espionage alone obtain patronage and encouragement. Hence it is, that whoever wishes to consummate the ruin of a relative, neighbour, or friend, has only to present himself before a judge, and charge the object of his hatred or jealousy with an imaginary crime: the accused is thrown into prison, cut off from all communication with his family; and when, after many months of suffering, his innocence is proved, the informer remains unpunished, and not unfrequently reaps the fruit of his iniquity in a lucrative place under government."

Such is the substance of this admirable document, which would have done honour to the most virtuous patriot that ever ornamented human society: and when it is considered, that it exposed truths which reflected immediate disgrace upon the sovereign and his associates in crime; that it called upon them for an abandonment of a line of policy which gratified their ambition and was congenial with their taste;

that it was presented at a time when those who adopted the sentiments it contained were exposed to the vengeance of malignity, and the scourge of despotic power—when all these considerations are taken into the account, it is impossible not to venerate the man who had the singular courage and honesty to place himself between his country's ruin and his own almost certain destruction. The friends of El Empecinado trembled for his fate, when they became acquainted with the memorial having been presented to the king; while the author, strongly intrenched in a consciousness that he had only spoken the truth, and in a conviction that his efforts were solely directed towards the good of his country, refused to quit the capital, until he received an assurance that his letter had been perused, not only by the king, but also by his ministers. To those who knew the baseness of the principles of the court, it seemed passing strange that the patriot was not immediately seized, and punished as a traitor; and their forbearance can only be ascribed to the terror created in them by the brilliancy of that virtue and integrity which shone in the conduct of this inflexible individual. Having made this last effort of loyalty and patriotism, El Empecinado sought a retreat in Leon, his native province, for about a year; when the Serviles found a pretext for his arrest, and he was sentenced to banishment.

It is not to be wondered at, that the unheard-of oppressions of the court should beget a soreness of feeling, and a strong sympathy, among the victims of royal vengeance. Patriotic societies were secretly formed, in various parts of the kingdom; which, notwithstanding the vigilance of the government, increased in number, and became formidable in their influence: and, considering the various means of corruption and venality resorted to by the ministers, a higher tribute to the national character could not possibly be paid, than the knowledge of this fact conveys, that there is no instance on record, to prove that any individual of these associations ever betrayed his coadjutors. National liberty was recognized as their bond of union. The circumstance of there being a constitution already in existence, for which the people had an enthusiastic regard, had a most salutary

effect in creating confidence, and their efforts were exclusively devoted to its restoration.* The city of Cadiz, as

* The formation of popular clubs naturally suggests itself in all national commotions, where the struggle for ascendancy lies between opposite parties. "When bad men combine, good men ought to associate," is a maxim as correct in policy, as its adoption is powerful in effect. In a period of Spanish affairs subsequent to that of which I am now speaking, great clamour was raised against a political club denominated the *Fontana de Oro*. By the ultra-royalists of England and France, this society was compared to the Jacobin club of Paris; and it was represented as most sanguinary in its objects, and dangerous in its tendency. This view, however, has certainly been incorrect: the subjoined account of one of the debates at this famous club, with its accompanying observations, may serve to correct such a representation; while it will afford the reader some amusement, if not add to his information. It is contained in the fifteenth letter of Count Pecchio, addressed to an English lady of rank, and bears the date of Madrid, August 22, 1821.— "I passed the whole of yesterday evening at the Fontana de Oro: do not be alarmed at the sound, amiable lady, nor believe that the above place of resort is a Pandemonium, such as that described by your Milton; neither the blood of kings nor ministers is drunk at this assemblage. I will endeavour to make you somewhat better acquainted with the said Fontana de Oro, and which so many represent as a monster more horrible than that of the Apocalypse. The place known by the name of Fontana de Oro, is nothing more than a large room on the ground-floor, capable of containing nearly a thousand persons. In the midst of this saloon are placed two pulpits, whence the tribunes address the sovereign people: this sovereign wears neither diadem nor mantle; he generally appears in a plain coat; instead of a sceptre he carries a stick, no less respectable, upon which he leans for support. The orators give their names in to the political chief, in the morning of the day in which they are to speak, thus securing their responsibility. The debates begin at nine o'clock; and in two hours after, a bell, which is heard through the hall, puts an end to the speaking, and dismisses the auditory. Last night's meeting was likely to be very stormy, as Morillo, who was falsely informed that the people intended to assail a military guard, mounted his horse, and, followed by an orderly, rushed into the crowd, which he treated with great violence, trampling those who came in his way under foot, and threatening others with his sabre. The sovereign people, who have also the same rights to inviolability as other sovereigns, demanded the punishment of this act of less majesty. The first orator who mounted the tribune, after having pathetically recapitulated what every one present already knew, decided that Morillo should be punished at once, by the hands of the people whom he had offended. This imprudent Demosthenes was a very young man, who did not evidently foresee what would be the probable effects of the instrument which he wished to see

on all occasions in which constitutional liberty was involved, was particularly prominent in rendering these societies prac-

used; yet several voices were instantly heard calling for the head of Morillo. But another speaker, Nunez, took possession of the rostrum, and exclaimed that crimes ought not to be expiated by crimes, that, in such an affair as this, they could not be at the same time prosecutor, judge, and jury. The sovereign people, who also occasionally fall into the error of not liking the truth, bellowed and roared with considerable violence, until at length the moderator was forced to quit the tribune before his speech had been half completed. A third orator next came forward, and, after ingeniously humouring the anger of the people, in exaggerating Morillo's crime, and representing it in the blackest colours, he suddenly recalled the general's bravery to the mind of his hearers. 'Let an over impetuous general be by all means stripped of the delicate situation of captain-general,' said he, 'but why not retain him as a warrior, worthy of again leading our battalions to victory? Morillo is a soldier of fortune: he has ennobled the rank from which he sprung, by his military exploits. Let us be generous towards a man whose elevation is due to his sword, and not to court favour.' At these words, the cries of rage were converted into murmurs of approbation; but while the auditors were balancing between the sentiment of vengeance and that of justice, a sonorous voice was suddenly heard to exclaim, '*Dios!*' at the sound of which the orator and audience immediately fell on their knees. It was the *Viatica*, which passed the door in the midst of torches: it was borne by a priest, dressed in superb canonicals, and seated in an elegant landau. Here it may be proper to inform you, that whenever *Dios* leaves a church, he has a right to enter the first carriage he meets, if it even happened to be that of the king; all occupation, even to an air of Catalani, must cease in the vicinity of his passage. After this interruption, which does not prove that the Liberals are atheists, murmurs recommenced: nevertheless, the orator continued his speech; but a beggar, who had contrived to slip into the crowd, occasioned considerable annoyance by his efforts to express some words which no person could understand; being repeatedly called to order without effect, an officer, who, from the broadness of his shoulders, and his attention to the proceedings, might be regarded as the lictor of the tribunes, seized the obstreperous mendicant by the collar, and, raising him above the heads of the assembly, thrust him out of the nearest window, with a degree of agility and ease which gave ample scope to the risible faculties of all present. When order was restored, the auditory betrayed signs of regret at having interrupted an orator who had always shewn himself so faithful to the interests of the people: Nunez was therefore unanimously called back to the tribune, which he ascended amidst the plaudits of the whole audience. He began by reproaching the assembly, as gently as if he had been speaking to his mistress, with the suspicion of infidelity which it had entertained of him; and then, continuing his task,

tically useful to the common cause. Among all classes of the community, the Freemasons, a fraternity which was scarcely known in Spain previous to the French revolution, excited the strongest suspicion in the government, and met with a proportionate share of persecution. With such extreme jealousy was this sect contemplated, that not only all the powers of the court and the Inquisition were directed against it, but the aid of the see of Rome was solicited and obtained, to effect its annihilation. Such a coadjuvancy was worthy of the Roman pontiff, the object of which was the suppression of civil and religious freedom. Under the sanction of his holiness the Pope, a fulminating decree on the subject of masonry was circulated by the inquisitor-general, and numbers were arrested on suspicion of belonging to that body.* It is as truly surprising as lamentable,

he proved that Morillo could only be punished by the laws. He ended, by triumphing over every prejudice; and thus prevented the law from being violated. The meeting was then adjourned, at its usual hour, amidst cries of 'Long live the Constitution!'—I have thus sketched one of those tempests that sometimes break out at the celebrated Fontana de Oro; but be assured they never occur, except when provoked by an irresistible cause: at all other times, nothing can exceed the decorum and silence that pervades the whole auditory. Eight or nine hundred persons, of both sexes and all ages, attend every night to hear the constitutional catechism read: this ceremony generally continues two hours, during which the hearers remain standing, and pay the most marked attention to what is passing. The orators are never betrayed into frivolity, nor the audience into levity. If, as will sometimes occur, the speaker is embarrassed for a word, it is suggested by several voices in the most good-natured manner, after which the silence is uninterrupted. An orator having lately exclaimed, that he was ready to accuse any functionary whatever, even though 'as high as ———' 'as high as ———' but would most probably never have reached the point of comparison, if one of the spectators, who appeared to be placed near him, had not dryly observed, 'as Chimborazo.' 'Ay!' repeated the orator, 'as high as Chimborazo!' and tranquilly continued his harangue."

* The pontifical edict was affixed to the doors of all the churches of the Peninsula, and accompanied by the following notice, which I have translated from *El Procurador General*, of January the 12th, 1815, one of the papers paid by the ministry and its principal organ.—"We, Dr. Francis Xavier, Mier y Campillo, by the Grace of God, and the Holy Apostolical See, Bishop of Almeria, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles the Third, Member of the Council, and Inquisitor-General in

that regal despots and their advisers should have their eyes closed to this fact, palpable to every plebeian of common understanding and information, that excess of oppression and injustice will ultimately produce a reaction, fatal to the authority of the individuals who inflict it.

the several Kingdoms and Lordships of his Majesty,—to all the inhabitants, of whatsoever condition, quality, order, or dignity, they may be, we hereby make known, that our most holy father, Pius the Seventh, animated by his ardent desire to preserve the purity of the faith and the prosperity and peace of the Christian republic, has addressed to our pious sovereign, Ferdinand the Seventh, an edict in the Italian language directed against Freemasons;—that his majesty, uniting his religious intentions to those of the common Father of all the faithful, has deigned to communicate this edict to us, in order that it may be published throughout the said kingdoms.”—Here follows the edict; after which, his eminence, the inquisitor-general, proceeds: “We know, that many Spaniards, ceding to the yoke of our oppressors, and dragged into foreign countries, have had the weakness to attach themselves to societies which lead to sedition and independence, as well as to every other error and crime: we hope, nevertheless, that these individuals, restored to their country and freedom, will recollect they are Spaniards; and that, following the example of their ancestors, they will submit with respect and docility to the voice of the supreme pastor, and of our legitimate sovereign. By the advice of the members of the royal council, and the holy Inquisition, we henceforth offer to receive, with open arms, and all that tenderness which is suited to our ministry and character, those who, within the space of fifteen days from the date of this decree, shall spontaneously and voluntarily denounce themselves to us; but if any person (which God forbid!) persists in following the road to perdition, we shall employ, to our great regret, rigour and severity, causing the pains and penalties of the civil and canonical laws to be inflicted on the offenders. We hereby ordain, that the present edict be published in all the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, and colleges, of the kingdom, and that it shall be affixed to the doors of the said churches, &c. whence it shall not be taken, without our permission, under pain of excommunication and a fine of two hundred ducats.—FRANCIS XAVIER, *Inquisitor-General*.”

CHAPTER V.

Assemblage of the Army for South America—Unsuccessful Attempt to gain over Morillo to the Popular Cause—Plans of the Patriots suspended—Insurrection of the Garrison of Corunna and Ferrol, headed by General Porlier—Proclamation, Manifesto, and Correspondence, of that lamented Chief—He marches towards Santiago—Conduct of the Priesthood there—Arrival of the patriot Column at Ordenes—Defection of the Sergeants—Arrest of the General and Officers—How this Event was celebrated at Santiago—Trial of Porlier—Its Injustice and Irregularity—Sentence, Execution, and Biography of the fallen Hero.

WHILE persecution, distraction, and misery of every kind, were desolating Spain, the South American colonies were pursuing effectual measures for rendering themselves independent of the mother country. Early in the year 1815, an armament of 10,000 men were collected at Pont St. Marigo, intended as a reinforcement to the Spanish troops in Venezuela. General Morillo had the chief command of this force; and, as it was believed he was favourably disposed to the patriot cause, overtures were made to him to employ his army in restoring liberty to his country; and some liberal capitalists offered him pecuniary assistance in furtherance of so desirable an object. He is said at one time to have yielded to these solicitations; but, whether influenced by a sense of the danger of the enterprise, or tempted by the rich harvest of plunder which the new world presented, he shrunk from his engagement, confessed to government his half-formed intention of joining the patriots, and atoned for the offence by carrying a wax taper in a religious procession. By the embarkation of Morillo and his troops for South America, the hopes of the liberal party from this source were entirely extinguished.

To the province of Galicia, which had pre-eminently distinguished itself for its ardent attachment to constitutional liberty, the hopes of the patriots were now principally directed. General Lacy, the renowned hero of Catalonia, filled the office of captain-general there at the time of Ferdinand's return, and had essentially contributed

to raise and keep alive the flame of independence throughout the province; and it is probable, from the impatience of the inhabitants to shake off the galling fetters of tyranny, as well as from the advantages of resistance afforded by the mountainous nature of the country, they would have risen in a mass, had it not been for the sudden removal of Lacy, and the hopes they had been taught to entertain of Morillo's disaffection to the royal cause. At this period, too, information was received in Spain of Napoleon's successful invasion of France, which for the present suspended any popular movement, under an impression, that if he should ultimately prove victorious, a better chance would be given to the efforts of the people in re-conquering their freedom.

One of the most interesting occurrences connected with the Spanish struggle, was the generous and noble, though unsuccessful, attempt made by the gallant Porlier to rescue his country. This effort, with all its accompanying circumstances, claim a circumstantial narrative, which can be furnished in no better manner than in the statement already given by the historian I have so frequently adverted to.

"Juan Diez Porlier, whose name will be remembered, whose fate must be deplored, as long as patriotism and public virtue shall find admirers, had been included in the proscription which commenced after the king's return, and condemned to four years' imprisonment at the castle of San Anton,* where he was conveyed on the 10th of August 1814. Porlier had not been many months in his new abode, before all eyes were naturally directed to a man whose exploits and gallantry during the war, no less than his well-known ardour in the cause of freedom, had made him a just object of admiration and hope with the army. Although there can be no doubt of his anxious desire to co-operate in any plan that was likely to restore liberty, or that he received frequent invitations from his friends at Corunna to come forward, while shut up in San Anton, it is a matter

* San Anton is within a few hundred yards of Corunna, and forms one of the principal defences to the entrance of the harbour. It has long been appropriated to the reception of state-prisoners.

of doubt how far his approbation of their plans extended, before he obtained permission from Ferdinand to visit a small watering-place called Arteyo, within a few miles of Corunna, for the benefit of his health, which had suffered very much from his exertions in the field and subsequent confinement.

Having been removed towards the latter end of August 1815, escorted by an officer and twelve men, Porlier was lodged in a farm-house close to the sea, and had even commenced a course of medical regimen, when the most pressing entreaties came from the garrisons of Corunna and Ferrol, that he should place himself at their head, as they could no longer bear up against the harshness of their treatment, left as they were without the means of existence, while their oppressors lived in luxury upon the very funds destined by government for their support. The unanimity which prevailed may be inferred from Castanera the officer, and the escort, serving as the medium of communication. Fully aware of the accumulated sufferings to which his former companions were exposed, it would have been extremely difficult for a patriot of much less sensibility than Porlier to resist such an appeal; and though labouring under the debilitating effects of a protracted indisposition, which would have fully justified his declining the proposed honour, he seems to have thought no consideration of personal inconvenience should be put in competition with the hope, however doubtful, of saving his country.

When every thing was ready for executing the plan agreed on, the general left his retreat, accompanied by Castanera and his escort as a guard of honour, and entered Corunna about midnight, on the 18th of September. The garrison did not exceed 2000 men. Porlier's chief dependence for striking the first blow was on Colonel Cabrera, commanding the regiment at Lugo, eight hundred strong. Some of his friends having welcomed their leader at the town-gate, they conducted him to the barracks, where the troops were in readiness, and all the officers assembled. The sword once drawn, Porlier entered into his task with the fearless zeal of a man who felt the justice of his cause, and the important interests which depended on the issue.

His first care was to address the officers and soldiers separately. He began by declaring that no injury was intended towards the person of their sovereign: as to the motives which had induced him to come forward, they were too well known to require any explanation. When it was considered that the royal orders, enjoining the authorities to distribute the means placed at their disposal for supplying the army, were disregarded, and those means appropriated to other purposes, while the soldiers continued in the utmost wretchedness; he could not but applaud the spirit which prompted them to throw off their fetters, and was therefore ready to lead wherever the interests of their common country required his services. The general next enjoined moderation, and a regard to the strictest discipline; concluding his harangue by informing them, that the plan was not an isolated one, but embraced all the provinces; that the names of Ballasteros, Custanos, Lacy, and many others of equal rank, were amongst the leaders, whose only object was to establish a political system more conducive to the interests of the nation. The spirit and energy with which this short address was delivered, produced a talismanic effect on all present; and though interdicted from giving way to their feelings in *viva's*, nothing could exceed the eagerness shewn by each to follow their adopted chief; who immediately issued orders for the regiment to be divided into small detachments, and directed a few rounds of ball-cartridges to be distributed amongst them. While the officers were occupied in drawing up their respective parties, Porlier selected some of the most steady, to secure the person of the captain-general, his secretary, the members of the military commission, and a few others, known to be inimical to freedom.* This was effected without opposition, early on the morning of the 19th. While the prisoners were on their way to San Anton and Ferrol, all persons accused of political offences were set at liberty.

* Porlier directed that the authorities should be treated with the utmost respect; and that every possible attention might be paid to their wants while in confinement. His solicitude on this point was frequently expressed in letters to the officer charged with their safe-custody.

After these preliminary measures were completed, a proclamation was read to the troops, and posted up in the town. It congratulated the soldiery upon having formed the heroic resolution of breaking chains more galling than any which had been forged for centuries. There was no necessity for telling them what had been the policy pursued since the restoration of Ferdinand the Seventh to a throne which had cost so many lives, and such endless sacrifices. What had been their recompense? Poverty, contempt, and privations without number: to which might be added, a total disregard of the laws, persecution, imposts, forced loans, and feudal oppression; finally, the ruin of agriculture, and the annihilation of commerce! This concise and faithful exposition ended by stating, that the other provinces would not fail to follow the example of Galicia; where a supreme junta of government was to be formed, until the meeting of the cortes, to which the nation looked for its regeneration.

The above address was succeeded by an elaborate manifesto, remarkable for its perspicuity and eloquence. In this paper, evidently written by the hand of a master,* the proceedings of the Servile faction, and general state of the nation, were detailed in language at once pathetic and argumentative. The views of the patriots being set forth, a retrospect is taken of what the cortes had done, and of the still greater improvements anticipated from the king's return. These are contrasted with the system of tyranny which succeeded; and the persons who surrounded Ferdinand are described in their true colours. The acquiescence of the monarch is attributed to the habitual influence exercised over him from infancy. It was owing to his listening to the counsellors of former days, that the cortes was destroyed: hence the renewal of public abuses, persecution of the patriots, disorder of the finances, and consequent misery of the army; hence, too, the venality of government,

* Porlier is said to have been assisted in preparing these spirited and well-written documents, by an auditor of military accounts, named Santario, a disciple of Jovellanos, who had been persecuted and thrown into prison at Corunna after the return of Ferdinand.

as shewn in the sale of places, bribery and corruption of its members, also the degradation of Spain, which, instead of being respected, was despised and contemned by all Europe. Yet had these evils been produced by men, who, but six years before, deserted their master, and betrayed their country! The arrest, trials, and condemnation of the members of the cortes, are characterized as proofs of unexampled cruelty and injustice. A proper tribute is then paid to the purity of their intentions, and irreproachable conduct as legislators. After alluding to the numerous benefits they had conferred on Spain, even during a period of war, an affecting contrast is drawn between the late and present state of the kingdom. "Notwithstanding a year of peace," says this important document, "our finances are more embarrassed than ever, and the public credit is extinct; while the brave defenders of their country are left naked, barefooted, and unpaid. As to the labourer, he is loaded with his former imposts; the artisan is impeded by new obstacles; and commercial men are paralyzed. Our colonies are more irritated than before; their deputies seized, and the promises made to them, broken. On one side, prisons; and on the other, vengeance!" The manifesto closes with an appeal to the nations of Europe, whose governments had not only recognized the legitimacy of the regency and the cortes during the war, but entered into solemn treaties with the former, and otherwise courted the alliance of Spain. England, Russia, Sweden, and Prussia, are more particularly mentioned. Alexander is called magnanimous; and England, rich and happy by its constitution, is represented as having witnessed with horror the destruction of the cortes, and the violence used towards its members. Under different circumstances, this appeal to the people of England would not have been made in vain: as it was, every generous mind glowed with sympathy; prayers were offered up for the success of Porlier; and but for the iniquitous intrigues which arrested his progress so soon, the circulation of a paper like the foregoing could not fail to have produced a powerful effect on the whole nation.

After collecting all the troops in the principal square, and proclaiming the Constitution of 1812, the whole, headed

by the general, and preceded by bands of music playing patriotic hymns, marched round Corunna, amidst cries of "*Viva el Rey par la Constitucion!*" and the liveliest demonstrations of joy on the part of the inhabitants, who fully participated in the feelings of the soldiery. The evening of the 19th closed with serenades and a brilliant illumination.

While the garrison of Ferrol, about 1500 in number, were on their march towards Corunna, and another detachment had set out from Vigo, to join the patriot standard, Porlier continued with unceasing activity to prepare for ulterior operations. Letters were addressed to the municipality and religious communities, stating what had occurred, explaining the motives for his conduct, and inviting them to concur in his views for the good of their common country. The replies were such as might be expected from persons whose existence depended on the continuance of tyranny and oppression: they excused themselves on pleas which are never wanting to men threatened with the loss of their pensions or places. But as the general knew the disposition of the parties, he felt the less disappointment at their refusal; nor did it move him in the least: on the contrary, every additional impediment only served to increase the confidence of Porlier, who continued to display a presence of mind, knowledge, and activity, fully equal to the arduous task he had undertaken. The remainder of the general's arrangements for securing the constitutional system, by restoring the municipality and other authorities displaced in 1814, being completed, a detachment of eight hundred men were selected to march towards Santiago, where the troops only awaited the appearance of Porlier to declare themselves.* The command of this column was given to Colonel Arechabala, who set out from Corunna on the night of the 21st, with orders to halt at the small village of Carral, a distance of six leagues, and which he reached early on the following day. Porlier arrived soon after; and when

* It was concerted, that, in the event of the troops at Santiago being sent against the patriotic column, they were to join the ranks of the latter immediately on coming up with them.

the troops had been sufficiently refreshed, he led them on to Ordenes, another village within two leagues of Santiago, to which place an officer had been despatched with copies of the proclamation and manifesto, also a letter addressed to Ortega, colonel of the provincial grenadiers forming the garrison. No answer being received, it was decided that the column should sleep at Ordenes, and continue its march the next morning.—In order to account for the silence and inactivity of Ortega, it should be observed, that, from the first moment of the rising, the monks and clergy at Santiago left neither prayers, entreaties, nor bribery, untried, to dissuade the officers and men of the grenadier battalion from espousing the sacrilegious cause of the rebels. Where the threat of excommunication, and an assurance of eternal torments in the world to come, had not the desired effect, gold, a still more potent stimulus, was liberally applied; and funds which had been accumulated since the king's return, or only appropriated to the wants and luxuries of the priesthood, were now advanced for paying the troops. With so many weapons of intimidation and corruption, it cannot be matter of surprise, that the patriotic intentions of the soldiery were turned aside. While Pesee, the governor, also an alien, was occupied in cutting ditches at the entrance of the city, and adopting other means of defence, consecrated emissaries were sent to tamper with the troops at Ordenes. In addition to the means so successfully employed at Santiago by these persons, they persuaded the non-commissioned officers and part of the men, that Porlier really contemplated an attack on their fellow-soldiers of the grenadier battalion. They could not have touched on a more vulnerable point; and there being no means of contradicting this absurd calumny, it spread with rapidity through the whole column, and thus led to their betraying the cause of freedom. The sergeants having assembled secretly about eight o'clock, one of them, named Chacon, expatiated on the enormity of drawing their swords against countrymen and friends; dwelling with particular emphasis on the horrors of civil war, and those other phantoms with which the priests had filled his imagination. He concluded, by declaring, that the only way to avoid the threatened

dangers, was to arrest the officers, and give them up to justice. So well had their spiritual advisers prepared the minds of these infatuated men to violate the oaths and protestations of fidelity made only three days before, that the proposal of Chacon, monstrous as it was, met with little opposition, and, after some further deliberation, he was from his seniority appointed to direct the meditated treason. A watch-word being fixed on, it was decided that a cordon of sentinels should be placed round the village, to prevent escape. Matters were thus arranged by half-past ten; when the sergeants sallied forth, headed by Chacon, and rushing into the inn where Porlier and his companions were still at table, called upon them to surrender, in the king's name. As the cry of "*Viva el Rey, y a las Armes!*" was heard outside, some moments before the traitors entered, it gave several of the officers time to seize their swords, and put themselves in an attitude of defence: a violent struggle ensued, during which a few pistol-shots were exchanged; when the general, perceiving that none of the soldiers appeared, it occurred to him that they were not privy to the design; he therefore leaped from a window, calling upon those around to follow; but sentries had also been planted close to the house, so that either to rally the men, or escape, became impossible. There being no alternative, the patriot chief and his companions yielded to their fate: most of the sergeants having formed a guard to watch the prisoners during the night, they were handcuffed, and marched to the dungeon of the Inquisition at Santiago on the following day.

The astonishment of Porlier and his officers at this inexplicable and untoward event, could only be exceeded by the joy it created amongst the priesthood of all classes and colours at Santiago,* where the first ebullitions of joy and

* Santiago is the capital of Galicia; and has long been a grand focus of bigotry, superstition, and priestcraft. Besides the Inquisition, and its train of attendants, there are not less than thirty convents here, though the population does not exceed 25,000 souls. The tutelar saint, better known in England by the name of St. James of Compostella, has the reputation of gaining the battle of Clairgo against the Moors, in the eighth century; he is also said to have occasionally appeared in the skies after his death, particularly whenever a victory was achieved over the

self-congratulation were followed by a solemn thanksgiving, and chanting *Te Deum* in full choir; after which ceremony, a sermon was preached on the inevitable damnation attendant on rebellion!

News like the above was not long in reaching Corunna; and though it produced a very different sensation there, thousands having expressed the sorrow and shame caused by such an unexampled piece of treachery, the troops left to occupy the town were insufficient to make a stand, if ever so well disposed. Previous, however, to the authorities being reinstated, Don Antonio Peon, captain of infantry, forming part of the detachment, determined not to expose himself unnecessarily to the consequences of an arrest, prevailed on a considerable number to join him, and seizing a standard, the whole party marched out of Corunna to the sound of drums, just as the captain-general and the other functionaries were liberated from San Anton.

Such was the termination of an enterprise, to which its authors were driven by motives the most irresistible. It deserved a better fate; and, if successful, would have saved years of anguish, slavery, and suffering, to a generous people. Had Porlier not partaken so much of the sanguine temperament of his countrymen, and confided less in promises of support from persons surrounded by men bred in all the arts of hypocrisy and deception, he would not have advanced towards Santiago, but maintained his position at Corunna; thus affording sufficient time for the other provinces to rise, of which no doubt could be entertained, had the patriots been assured of success in Galicia.

The failure of Porlier is not amongst the least instructive lessons to be gleaned from the history of the last six years; nor was it thrown away on Quiroga and his heroic companions: taught wisdom by experience, they secured an impenetrable asylum in La Isla, and their glorious efforts were crowned with success.

Saracenic invaders of Spain. Hence the popularity of his shrine; which has, however, greatly diminished of late years, but it is still one of the richest in the Peninsula, which sufficiently accounts for the immense number of both sexes who embrace the religious and monastic life at this place.

Conducted to Corunna in chains, under a strong escort, on the 25th, and shut up in the common receptacle for malefactors, no time was lost in commencing the trial of the patriot officers. Although every rule of justice required that a special commission should be named on this occasion, the person who had been employed for the prosecution of the *Liberales* received orders from St. Mara to prepare the act of accusation. An order to the same effect reached Corunna two days after from the court. This directed, that Porlier, and those of superior rank who had acted with him, should be tried, and their sentence put into execution, within the time prescribed by martial law. As to the subalterns and others, their trial was also to proceed; but the sentences were not to be carried into effect until the royal pleasure was known.

With the exception of his proclamation, manifesto, and some letters intended for various public bodies and individuals, upon whose co-operation he calculated, no documents of any importance were found amongst the papers of Porlier.*

Agreeable to the gothic mode of legal procedure in Spain, Hiremon, the fiscal, prepared several interrogatories, which he read to the general in prison. The first of these, after recapitulating the treasonable acts of the prisoner, in raising the garrison of Corunna, and placing the authorities under arrest, accused him of marching to Santiago at the

* Although so short a time at El Carral and Ordenes, a number of letters were despatched by the general from both the places, in every direction, calling upon the authorities in different towns to proclaim the Constitution. Amongst the papers seized at Corunna, was found a note to his wife, dated at Ordenes just after his arrival, and of which the following is a translation.—“My dearest wife, You are, I trust, already at Corunna; nor ought you to be absent from it for an instant. I have got thus far, and shall to-morrow present myself before Santiago, where I hope something will be done, although there is not complete security: what I chiefly observe, is the excellent disposition of the peasantry. I understand they are cutting ditches, and taking other steps, to prevent our entrance into Santiago: we shall soon see the result of these matters. But do not be apprehensive of danger, as I shall run no risk without great probability of success. Adieu, my beloved. Write often, as I am most anxious to know how you are.”

head of an armed force, with intention to attack the troops stationed there. The conclusion of this interrogatory is no bad illustration of what an attorney-general of those days could say to prove his loyalty. It states, that "if the culprit still retains a particle of gratitude for the best of kings, Ferdinand the Seventh, he will instantly disclose his plans, and name his accomplices, so as that the innocent nation may escape the perilous consequences arising from his silence!"

To the above, Porlier replied, that so far from having conspired against the king, every possible respect was shewn for his sacred person, not only in addressing the soldiery, and when referring to him in the proclamation, but by proclaiming his name throughout Corunna on the morning of the 19th. With respect to the conspiracy, he had taken no part in it, since an officer and guard were placed over him to watch his conduct. Entreated to assume the command, on reaching Corunna he found the garrison in a state of complete insurrection; so that all he did, in such a crisis, was to prevent disorder and the effusion of blood: for which purpose, he cautioned the troops to maintain fidelity to the king, and observe the most exact discipline. As to the arrests, if not sanctioned by him, they would have been effected by the soldiers tumultuously. The fiscal was reminded of the respect shewn to the authorities when arrested, and the humanity of their treatment. The assertion of his intention to attack the garrison at Santiago is positively denied; in proof of which, no order to that effect had been given: on the contrary, every hostile appearance was avoided, even to there being no ammunition supplied. There was nothing, in fact, to induce a belief that such a measure ever entered his thoughts. With regard to those who were privy to, or concerned in, the rising, he expressed a hope that his majesty would be pleased to appoint some person who could hear what he had to say on the subject generally. As the authorities by whom his trial was instituted were also in power when the events in question occurred, they could not interfere without a violation of justice; being no less responsible than himself, if not much more so, from their having had the manage-

ment and command of the military. It would therefore be impossible for government to obtain a thorough knowledge of the business, if his request was refused. Finally, it was incompatible with every rule of law, to be at once prosecutor, culprit, accuser, and judge. In reply to a subsequent interrogation, the general read an article from the military ordinances, which bore particularly on his case, and expressly forbade a sentence passed by those concerned in the charge advanced against any individual, and whose own conduct was thereby liable to be called in question.

Notwithstanding the formidable objections of Porlier, the fiscal, who communicated them to the commission, was desired to proceed. Another of the prisoner's replies stated, that when invited by Castanera to accompany him to Corunna, all the officers of the Lugo regiment were assembled to receive him: on his appearance, they exclaimed with one voice, that such was the cruelty of their treatment, and the hardship of their condition, that they found it impossible any longer to bear up against it; they had therefore resolved on executing the arrests,—to which end, a general understanding had been established with the garrisons of Ferrol, Vigo, and other places.

Don Jose Paredes having excused himself from becoming counsel for Porlier, on the plea of his being a member of the commission, his refusal was admitted on the 29th, when the objections of the prisoner were also formally set aside, and a resolution made to conclude the trial without further delay. The general was, however, allowed to select another counsel; and the fiscal was sent to notify the indulgence. Porlier took this opportunity of stating,—that he was degraded before any judgment had been pronounced; alleging, that, though labouring under such ill health and extreme debility, he had been thrown into a dungeon hitherto reserved for assassins and highway robbers; that he had been stripped half naked, and loaded with above fifty pounds weight of irons;* a proof that the fiscal and

* According to one of the innumerable barbarisms of the old Spanish law, those accused of treason, murder, &c. are obliged to take off their clothing from the waist downwards.

commission had overlooked the fact of his holding the rank of a general officer. Were it not for these illegal aggravations, Porlier would have chosen Miramon to defend him; but as it was, he begged to name an old friend, Colonel Miranda; and ended the conversation by expressing a hope that the commission would allow him the rights and privileges accorded by the ordinances. Notwithstanding this unanswerable appeal, all he could obtain was a truckle bedstead and a straw mattress.

There being no probability of granting the general's request relative to the appointment of a person from the court to hear what he wished to communicate, he added the following particulars to his previous declarations on the 29th.—To afford a clearer idea of the insurrection and its real authors, and at the same time justify my own conduct, it should be recollected, that all the troops received pay on the 19th, without any funds having been drawn from the royal treasury for that purpose: hence it must follow, that Don Andres Rojo,* the person who issued it, knew by whom the money was advanced; and as these funds were provided before my arrival at Corunna, the parties who supplied them were doubtless the original promoters of the rising. It is also notorious, that for some time before this event, the officers of the garrison at Ferrol openly refused to perform the duty there, in consequence of which a trial had been instituted. This circumstance furnishes a strong presumptive proof that they had an interest, and were even concerned in, the general wish of restoring the Constitution.

The last declaration of Porlier was made on the 1st of October. Its chief object was to reiterate his former request, that some one in the confidence of his majesty might be named, to hear what he had to disclose for the general good of his country. But as the commission had

* Although there is no doubt but that a considerable part of the money thus provided came from the patriotic fund collected amongst the members of the secret societies, Rojo's name deserves to be mentioned in the proud list of Spanish citizens who have sacrificed their all in support of liberty.

not thought fit to consult the king, he was now prepared to impart his final wishes to Pesee, the governor of Santiago; this application being equally unsuccessful, a third was made with no better effect.

The unwillingness manifested by the judges, at a time when such requests are scarcely ever denied, was attributed to a consciousness that Porlier had it fully in his power to compromise the principal authorities, if not themselves, as already intimated. One of the motives alleged by the officers and soldiers, for throwing off the yoke, was the peculation and plunder of the funds destined by government for the support of the army. They who knew the generous nature of Porlier, could not suspect him of any disposition to injure even his enemies; and from some circumstances which transpired a few hours before his death, the communication he wanted to make, only related to the perturbed state of the kingdom, the extent of the association in favour of freedom, and the consequent danger to the monarchy, if timely reform did not emanate from the proper source.

Although the act of accusation was drawn out on the night of the 30th, the commission did not assemble to examine the cause, and hear the defence, before the 2d of October. The latter was extremely concise, and altogether inadequate to the importance of the cause, or the means of the counsel, who probably felt the inutility of a more elaborate appeal in favour of one whose destiny seemed to have been previously sealed. No attempt was made to exculpate the prisoners. After admitting that the circumstance of Porlier's being seduced to commit the alleged crime did not evade the law, Miranda grounded his prayer for mercy on the distinguished services of his client during the late war, and solicited that the sentence might not be put into execution before the pleasure of his majesty was known: above all, he insisted on the necessity of allowing the general an opportunity of declaring those particulars which he considered as essential to the interests of the nation. The defence being concluded, it only remained to confirm and pronounce the judgment of the court. It was accordingly read; and merely stated, that the charges of treason

and rebellion having been fully proved, the prisoner was liable to the pains and penalties awarded in such cases: he was therefore sentenced to be publicly degraded, and to suffer death by hanging.

There being no appeal from this sentence, it was carried into effect on the following day at half-past eleven o'clock. The last and only act of indulgence solicited by the unfortunate general, was a remission of that part of the judgment which related to his being degraded; so that the victim was suffered to ascend the scaffold in plain clothes.

The firmness and dignity shewn by Porlier, from the moment of his arrest to the hour of execution, cannot be too much admired; particularly when we reflect on the excessive fatigue and anxiety attendant on his exertions between the 18th and 22d, not to mention the debilitated state of his health previous to the rising. His declarations were delivered with the utmost perspicuity and calmness. That his characteristic strength of mind did not fail him even to the last, is proved by a circumstance which took place the day before his execution. When the fiscal came to that part of the sentence where the word traitor occurred, the countenance of Porlier became suddenly flushed, and, darting a look of fire at Miramon, he exclaimed, "*Traidor! Diga rested, El mas fiel servidor de la patria!*"*

Though the condemned hero had sufficient fortitude to spare his wife and himself the agonizing pangs of a final separation, he wrote to her frequently during the trial, and twice on the day before his execution. These letters were such as might be expected from one who felt much more regret on account of a woman to whom he was tenderly attached, than for his own fate. The last letter which he wrote to his wife, a little after midnight before the day of his execution, is as much distinguished for heroism as for connubial attachment. It was couched in the following terms:—"My beloved wife, The Almighty, who disposes of men according to his will, has deigned to call me to himself, in order to give me, in eternal life, that tranquillity and ease which I have not enjoyed in this world. We are

* "Traitor! Rather say, The most faithful servant of his country!"

all subject to this necessary condition of nature; and therefore it is useless to grieve when this hour approaches. On this account, I most tenderly beseech you to receive this last blow of the ill fate which has persecuted us, with the same tranquillity and security as I retain while writing this to you. Be not afflicted at the kind of death they inflict upon me; since it can dishonour only the wicked, but covers the good with honour and glory. I repeat to you, that if I take with me any consolation to the world of truth, it is that of being persuaded, that, obeying me at this moment as you have always done hitherto, you will be consoled, and resigned to the will of God, which is the supreme law of all mortals. In the sequel, you will receive my last will, which you will endeavour to fulfil as far as possible. Father Sanchez, who will be the bearer, a monk of our patron St. Augustine, will deliver you this, and will communicate to you verbally other things which I confide to him under confession. I again recommend you to conform to what I desire; since the contrary, besides being prejudicial to your safety, will not tend to the good of your soul. Adieu! Receive the heart of your husband.—*October 2d, one o'clock at night.*"

Conducted to the chapel, in which it is customary for those condemned to death to pass the three days' grace allowed previous to their execution, at seven o'clock on the evening of the 2d, Porlier dictated his will to a notary, who attended for this purpose, and gave dying injunctions with as much composure as if they had related to the most ordinary concerns of life. Having bequeathed whatever he had to leave to his wife, Donna Josefa Queipo de Llano, daughter of the house of Toreno, and named several individuals to whom he was desirous of being affectionately remembered, he addressed the notary in the following words: "I also enjoin, that, when circumstances permit, my ashes may be removed from the spot they are laid when I am dead, to one more agreeable to my wife; and being deposited in a plain cenotaph, she will cause the following inscription to be engraved on it, together with my age, and day of my death.—'Within are contained the remains of Juan Diaz Porlier, formerly a general in the armies of Spain.

He was always successful in whatever he undertook against the external enemies of his country, and died a victim to civil dissensions. Men alive to glory! respect the ashes of an unfortunate patriot.'” This act performed, he signed it with an untrembling hand, and directed, that the attested copy, and the key of the coffin containing his body, should be presented to his wife, as soon after the fatal hour as her frame of mind would bear such an offering.

The remainder of the night was passed in meditation and prayer. Alike a stranger to that bigotry and superstition which has been at once the curse and scourge of Spain, the prayers of Porlier were those of a man who had conformed to the tenets of Christianity, rather by acts of virtue and benevolence, than exploded rites and idle ceremonies: endowed with the most estimable qualities of the head and heart, this martyr to liberty could look back on his past life with complacency, and towards the future with confidence.

A friend of mine, who resided at Corunna, and saw the hero suffer, describes the day of his execution as one of general and heartfelt sorrow. There was something peculiarly affecting in the last scene of this mournful drama: impatient to reach the place of execution, Porlier walked much quicker than is usual on such solemn occasions, and was observed to mount the scaffolding erected under the gallows with great alacrity; when the final prayer ended, and just before the rope was affixed round his neck, he drew a white handkerchief from his breast, and holding it up to his face, as if to absorb a last tear, he consigned it to the priest, with a request that it might be given to his widow!

A part of the troops whom he had but a few days before led under the banner of freedom, were condemned to attend the execution, and thus experienced the double mortification of witnessing the effects of their treason, and an end of all present hope of liberty or improvement.

All the former actions of Porlier's life corresponded exactly with the last days of his earthly career. Though descended from an ancient family, of which a branch had for a long period settled in the Canaries, he was born at

Carthagena, in South America, where his father held a high public situation. Brought up under the auspices of his uncle, Antonio Porlier, marquis de Baxemar, and minister of justice under Charles the Fourth, he served as a midshipman at the battle of Trafalgar. When, however, the cry of independence spread through the Peninsula in 1808, our hero was amongst the first to obey the call of his country; and, having joined a regiment stationed at Valencia, his gallantry and enterprising spirit were first displayed in the vicinity of that city: an affair, in which he defeated a body of the enemy's troops with a very inferior force, took many prisoners, and led them in triumph to the junta of Asturias, obtained for him the rank of colonel.

Soon after this event, he formed a guerilla corps, of which he became the leader, and distinguished himself in a series of brilliant actions. It was during Porlier's exploits in Asturias, that he acquired the title of *el marquisito*, or, the little marquis, a surname by which he continued to be known ever after. His retreat from Santander, closely pursued by a corps four times more numerous than his own, excited great admiration, and placed the military reputation of Porlier on a level with that of his most popular competitors. So highly were his merits and services appreciated by the regency, that he was appointed captain-general of Asturias, where he remained until the return of Ferdinand.

With respect to the alleged crime for which Porlier was cut off in the prime of life, if the motives that impelled him to obey the impulse of patriotism, and the call of his suffering countrymen, are entitled to praise, the moderation with which he conducted the enterprise is no less worthy of applause. Notwithstanding those innumerable causes of irritation and revenge, which had been operating on the officers and soldiery ever since the return of Ferdinand, not a single excess was committed, from the beginning of the insurrection till its termination: as truly stated in the general's declaration, the arrest of the authorities only had the effect of preserving them from those insults which their administration had been but too well calculated to excite. So anxious was Porlier that the part taken by his

companions in the enterprise should be spontaneous, that, in the course of the deliberations which preceded the defection at Ordenes, he plainly intimated, that those who did not feel conscious they were acting rightly for the good of their country, had only to say so, and they should be at liberty to depart.

It is no trifling addition to the merits of this lamented chief, to say, that history scarcely furnishes an instance of forbearance and moderation equal to that displayed throughout this insurrection. The effects of such conduct have been most salutary in all the subsequent efforts of the patriots; and it will not be lost on posterity.

Although low in stature, Porlier was extremely well made, had fine dark eyes, and a most expressive countenance. He gave many proofs of great military talents; and his activity in the field was unequalled. He was remarkable for the vivacity of his manners, frankness,* and generosity. With him, patriotism was not an empty sound, or sterile profession; as a proof of which, nearly the whole of his limited fortune had been devoted to the relief of his persecuted and suffering countrymen, whether they languished in the prisons of Spain, or sought refuge abroad. One of the charges that led to his condemnation in 1814, was founded on the interception of a letter, in which he directed a merchant of Bilboa to supply the pecuniary wants of an exiled patriot who was expected there from France. But Porlier's liberality was not confined to Spaniards, it extended to the unfortunate of every country; and more than one Englishman was indebted to him for assistance in the hour of need. He was, in fact, warmly attached

* Porlier is said to have carried this rare virtue, on some occasions, rather too far. The marchioness de Matarosa, mother to his wife, a proud and haughty woman, who, like many of the Spanish aristocracy, saw no merit when unconnected with title-deeds and nobility, was very anxious to know what were his pretensions to the honour of an alliance with her family. "Tell the marchioness," said Porlier to the person employed to perform the office of negotiating this important point, "that I wish to be informed, whether her daughter is to be married to me, or my parchments? If to the latter, they may both go to the deuce; for the sooner I quit them the better."

to us as a nation; so that the sympathy excited by his melancholy fate was doubly merited. At Corunna, the feelings of the English residents were still more unequivocally evinced, the whole number having put on deep mourning an hour after his execution.

The bishop of Orense made an eloquent appeal to Ferdinand, in favour of Porlier's companions. However creditable this intercession may have been to the venerable prelate, it is supposed that the lenity shewn towards the offenders arose much more from fear than humanity. Aided by the kindness of their English friends, several of the officers were enabled to embark for the United Kingdom. Where the conduct of others tends to make us so unpopular abroad, it is extremely gratifying to be able to bring forward instances of this kind, which serve, in no inconsiderable degree, to retrieve the national character, and keep it from sinking altogether, in the eyes of foreign nations.

The spirit of persecution, which brought Porlier to a scaffold, did not end with the hero's death. Excluded from the rites of Christian sepulture, his body was buried in an obscure corner of the public cemetery.

The notary who drew up the will became an object of persecution; and after a process which continued six months, sentence was passed against him, annulling the instrument, which was represented as subversive of, and contrary to, the rights of the throne! In consideration, however, of the advanced age and the character of the culprit, he was only admonished, on pain of incurring the utmost rigour of the laws in case of a second offence.

Porlier was affectionately attached to his wife, and she was not less so to the best of husbands. I will not attempt to describe the harrowed feelings of a young desolate woman, bereft of her natural protector in the flower of life, while all the fervid sympathies of our nature are yet in full activity, and we still look forward with joy and hope to years of untasted felicity. As if, however, it was not enough to exercise every species of indignity towards her husband, the forlorn situation of Madame Porlier was greatly embittered by the cruel means adopted with regard to herself. After confiscating the whole of the general's property,

she was placed in a convent at Betanzos, and remained there, in a state of indirect imprisonment, till the re-establishment of freedom. Soon after this event, Madame Porlier was invited to abandon the cloister, and reside at Corunna; where she continues to receive all those attentions no less due to her misfortunes than to the eminent services of her late husband.

The final bequests of Porlier were fulfilled towards the end of August. A cenotaph being prepared, all the authorities of Corunna, civil and military, repaired to the spot where his remains had been laid. Disinterred, and placed in their new receptacle, the gallant Espinosa, who has been so highly distinguished during the recent events in Galicia, pronounced an eloquent and energetic panegyric on the virtues and talents of the fallen hero; pointing him out as a fit model for those who preferred the liberty of their country to tyranny and oppression. From this, the procession proceeded to the principal church, followed by the whole population. Here the service closed with a requiem, composed for the occasion; after which, the cavalcade, preceded by the cenotaph borne on a funeral car, was conducted in mournful triumph through all the streets in which the hero had proclaimed the constitution five years before. On reaching that part of the Campo Santo, on which a more conspicuous spot was chosen for depositing the urn, a second service and funeral oration was delivered by the officiating chaplain of the garrison; after which the ceremony ended.*

“However gratifying this testimony to departed worth may have been to the friends and admirers of the patriot chief, who witnessed the scene, and participated in the painful recollections and heartfelt sorrow it excited for his untimely fate, I am led to believe,” says Mr. Blaquiere, in concluding his lucid narrative, “it was only a prelude to still higher honours, which the national congress intends to confer on

* That two names, so dear to their countrymen, should be still further perpetuated, the principal square and public walk of Corunna have been named after Porlier and Acevedo, whose fate bears a sad analogy to that of his heroic predecessor.

those who, like the hero of Corunna, were sacrificed on the altar of their country's freedom. Yes! The statue of Juan Diaz Porlier deserves a pre-eminent niche in the projected pantheon; nor can Spain too highly prize, or too dearly cherish, the memory of a man, who, though branded with the epithet of traitor and rebel by her oppressors, yet knew how to brave an ignominious death with composure, rather than quietly live to see his fellow-citizens wear the chains of slavery.

CHAPTER VI.

Alarm of Ferdinand and his Court—Increasing Severity—Banishment and biographical Sketch of Ballasteros—Popular Ferment in Valencia—General Elio's ferocious Proclamation—Edict for the Suppression of Books—The Spanish Court's Confederacy with the Pope—Papal Bull to the Spanish Clergy—Conspiracy of Richart and Renvalles detected and suppressed—Failure of Lacy's patriotic Plan—His Trial and Execution—Decree in Reference to the Spanish Exiles—Death of Charles the Fourth—Conspiracy in Valencia, headed by Colonel Vidal—Its Suppression, and Execution of the Colonel and his Companions—Sanguinary Proclamation of Elio—Preparations for the South American Expedition—Revolt of the Troops at La Isla—The Patriots again betrayed—Biographical Sketch of Abisbal—The Plague in Andalusia—Ferdinand's Decree announcing his Marriage—Arrival of the new Queen at Madrid.

It is in the nature of profligacy and violence to tremble on the approach of danger. When the news of the bold attempt of Porlier reached the Spanish court, and especially when it was found that considerable portions of the military were imbued with the spirit which actuated this patriot, the utmost consternation prevailed in the government. It soon became apparent, that the rising at Corunna was viewed with rapture in other places, particularly at Cadiz, Barcelona, Valencia, and Saragossa, where active preparations immediately commenced, to second Porlier's enterprise; and it was not before its complete failure, and the fate of the general, were known, that the popular ferment was subdued. The oppressions of the government had cre-

ated so strong a feeling amongst all ranks of the community, that no doubt can be entertained, had the patriotic cause been sustained in Galicia but for a few days longer, the banner of freedom would have been unfurled throughout the whole Peninsula.

If the king and his abandoned counsellors had not been the subjects of blind infatuation, the unequivocal demonstration of the general sentiment would have taught them lessons of prudence, if it could not inspire them with principles of justice. In the moment of danger they felt alarm; but this was evidently excited more by the fear of meeting the just indignation of the people for their oppression, than by a compunctious feeling of the evils they had inflicted. For a moment, indeed, while the issue of the insurrection was yet doubtful, some slight disposition was manifested by the court to relax the severity of persecution; but it was a reluctant pause, only to be followed by still more rigorous acts of cruelty and injustice. No sooner were the apprehensions of the king allayed, than, instead of changing the system of terror, one of the first measures resorted to, after the execution of Porlier, was the dismissal and exile of the celebrated Ballasteros,* and the banishment

* No individual in the Peninsula has distinguished himself more, whether as a general or a patriot, either during the war of independence, or in the arduous struggles against domestic despotism, than Ballasteros. The following sketch of his character is taken from one of Count Pecchio's Letters, bearing the date of June 1821, and is worthy of preservation.—“Amongst the *seven hundred* generals of Spain, can you divine he whom I was most desirous of knowing? Ballasteros, the declared opponent of Lord Wellington. Of all the Spaniards I have met with, Ballasteros has received me with most cordiality, and that sympathy which can neither be simulated nor dissimulated. I never saw a member of the military profession tender his hand to a brother soldier with more warmth and cheerfulness than Ballasteros. His gait is always martial; and even when walking about his room, he appears to be at the head of a column marching against the enemy. He is an enthusiast on the score of valour, but never wishes to command any but Spaniards. His prejudices with regard to the British chief are still unabated: he continues to repeat, and with reason, that it is better to be beaten by enemies than commanded by foreigners; ‘Because,’ says he, ‘a defeat may be retrieved, but there is no remedy against humiliation.’ It was not, however, the preference shewn to Lord Wellington that irritates

of El Empecinado, who was living in the greatest retirement in Arragon, and whose spirited memorial to Ferdinand has been noticed in the preceding pages. The British residents at Corunna, also, who had felt a natural sympathy for the adherents of Porlier, and had actively aided them in their escape from the resentment of the government, were visited by its vengeance; and the reward of their generosity was an obligation to pay a forced loan levied upon them.

In Granada, a new insurrection was organized, upon principles which promised a more successful issue than that of Galicia. The captain-general of that province, Count Montigo, to whose zeal and patriotism was indebted the establishment of the secret associations, directed the proposed rising, which was to take place, on a fixed day and hour, in all the garrisons of the Peninsula. This plan, however, when just upon the point of being carried into execution, was unfortunately discovered and denounced by the priests, headed by the archbishop. Numerous arrests, and an extensive seizure of papers, followed this new triumph of the clergy: additional measures of coercion were adopted with regard to secret societies; and the aid of the Holy Office being required, the grand inquisitor readily acquiesced in the wishes of the court, so that this dreadful tribunal henceforth became, exclusively, an engine of political persecution.

him even to this day, but the affront thereby cast on the warriors of Spain. You will allow, that a rivalry thus frank and noble is altogether Homeric. Ballasteros has often been heard to express contempt of danger, but never of men. With so chivalric a mind, he could not bend to despotism; and was therefore exiled from the court to Valladolid, during the reign of terror. Recalled in 1820, it was he who presented the Constitution to the king for his signature. The soldiery who served under him during the war of independence, and with whom he partook of the same ration, are as warmly attached to their favourite chief as ever. With what pleasure have I heard him declare, in a tone of the firmest conviction, that we are no longer capable of effecting any thing really great, and have lost our energies, from the moment our conscience reproaches us with having committed a base action! "It is on this account," adds the general, "that tyrants study the means of inducing those officers who have most served them, to disgrace themselves, so that their ambition may be rendered abortive, as they are thenceforth unable to undertake any thing magnanimous."

In the province of Valencia, the flame of patriotism also burst forth, with strong effervescence, early in the year 1817. This tumult had its origin in a dispute about the tax on coals. The sanguinary General Elio, who had been the chief military instrument in forwarding the views of the Servile faction, and who subsequently fell a victim to popular indignation, had the chief command here, and found it necessary to exert all his authority against certain persons who called themselves the deputies of the people; and thus was kindled that fire, which had nearly involved in flame the whole capital of the province. The power of the populace rose to such a height, that the city was in their possession during the whole of the 17th; the cry of "The Constitution!" was raised; and a thousand insults were offered to the general and his troops: in the struggle, the former was wounded, but not dangerously. At last, however, the army triumphed; and the general proceeded, with his characteristic ferocity, to take vengeance on those who had dared to dispute his supreme authority. The following extract from a proclamation he issued on this occasion, will pretty strongly shew the temper of this miscreant, and that of the court by which he was employed: "After dark, and within the city, no person shall dare to go armed, except the patrolle appointed to preserve the public peace, military officers, noblemen, and persons who are privileged by their rank of cavaliers *de espada*, or *sable*. If any other persons are found with arms, *defend themselves, or fly at the name of the king, the patrolle shall be authorized to fire upon them, or to pursue and apprehend them. If, when so apprehended and imprisoned, it shall appear that they attempted to make resistance, they shall be hanged within twelve hours afterwards. Against this sentence there shall be no appeal, whatever be their excuse or numbers.*"

The most formidable engine for the abrogation of tyranny is a free press; and the diffusion of knowledge is the most effectual mean of dissipating fanaticism and superstition. Of this fact, the abettors of political despotism, and the advocates of ecclesiastical domination, have always shewn themselves susceptible: and although there is a striking similarity of feature in these two classes of the

enemies of mankind, yet in no one point do they so exactly and cordially agree, as in that of repressing free discussion. The Inquisition and the crown of Spain proved themselves worthy coadjutors, in the state of the country I have been describing. On the 2d of March, 1817, an edict was published at Madrid, prohibiting the reading of certain books. These *contraband* books were divided into two principal classes: in the first were included those which were prohibited even to individuals to whom the *Holy Office* allowed particular licenses or permissions; the other class comprehended works which were forbidden only to those who had never obtained any license. The works of the first class were eight in number: they were prohibited as defamatory of the supreme authority of the Roman pontiff, and of the ecclesiastical authority; as containing propositions scandalous, impious, false, seditious, rash, erroneous, blasphemous, schismatic, heretical, and injurious to the Roman pontiff, to the bishops, and to the holy tribunal of the Inquisition, conducive to error, superstitious, ridiculous, contrary to the sacred canons, to the evangelical doctrine, and to the example of Jesus Christ. The prohibition of the second class falls on forty-seven works, and is described as containing a corrupt and revolutionary spirit, propositions injurious to the Holy Office and to the clergy, calumnious against true religion, blasphemous, tending to idolatry, injurious to Ferdinand the Seventh, subversive of the monarchical government, incentive of rebellion against *legitimate* sovereigns, injurious to the doctrine of the holy sacrament, and filled with satires against husbands fond of their wives. Then follows a list of the publications in which these *horrible* tenets are said to be contained; and the edict concludes as follows:—"The apostolic inquisitors of error, pravity, and apostasy, wishing, by virtue of the apostolic, royal, and ordinary authority, with which they are vested, to prevent the evil which might result from the reading of the works contained in this edict, hereby ordain their prohibition; and that those which are already distributed over the nation shall be collected: they are expressly forbid the reading, selling, or keeping in possession, these books."

Although one object of the above edict embraced subserviency to political rule, its principal design seems directed to the preservation of the *purity of the faith*; and it was probably issued at the instigation of the Roman pontiff, to strengthen the influence of the hierarchy. In this instance, no less than while he was employed at Valençay in embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary, Ferdinand proved himself to be a *faithful son of mother church*; and his Holiness now had the opportunity of rewarding the king's obedience, by interposing his supreme authority, to induce the Spanish clergy to assist him in his necessities. Accordingly, about the middle of April, the Roman pontiff issued a bull, addressed to the Spanish priesthood, calling upon them to appropriate a portion of their church property, for a limited time, to the service of his majesty. This curious document, is subjoined, and is given, not only to shew the accumulation of wealth which the clergy had amassed, while every other class was reduced to beggary, but to illustrate the paramount authority the Pope assumed over the subjects of a foreign state, and the tremendous powers with which he considered himself invested.—

“Pius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God.—The Roman pontiffs, incited by their paternal love for the whole Catholic flock, have never suffered the apostolic benignity to be accused of having refused, in seasons of distress, to furnish assistance to the necessities of the state, even from the patrimony of the church. Our dearly beloved son in Jesus Christ, Ferdinand, Catholic King of Spain, intimately united by bonds of love and veneration to us, and the holy apostolic see, in his present painful circumstances; being well persuaded that God has committed to the clergy alone the care of managing the property of the church, as had been clearly and unanimously published in the declaration of the fathers assembled in Roman council, under the pontiff Symmachus, this prince has solicited the necessary power, for the purpose of meeting the necessities of his treasury, occasioned by the general agitation of affairs. And as the means and fortunes of the laity are already oppressed with charges, by reason of which the said King Ferdinand has not ventured to make new demands, he has

thought proper to require an annual sum of 30,000,000 reals, money of that country, on ecclesiastical property, for only six years; in which time, the number of pensions will be diminished, and the value of the revenues augmented. In consequence, we, with the good-will wherewith we are animated in favour of the said King Ferdinand, have admitted the *supplications* he had addressed to us, and which have been presented to us by our *dear son* the Chevalier Antonio de Vargas y Laguna, his minister plenipotentiary: yielding to these *supplications*, and considering the enormous expenses, at the price of which we have had the satisfaction of seeing an extremely glorious victory obtained, as well for religion as the monarchy, and in regard to the calamity of the times, we have resolved, for the weighty causes now enumerated, to modify the dispositions of the holy canons. Thus, from our certain knowledge, and after mature consideration, making use of *the plenitude of the apostolic power with which we are invested*, we *grant*, by these presents, to the said King Ferdinand, an *indulto*, that validly, freely, and lawfully, he may, during the space of six years, exact, but only for the purpose of succouring the royal treasure, the extraordinary subsidy of 30,000,000 reals, from all the property, fruits, rents, and products, of the clergy, as well regular as secular. By these presents, we *commission* and *authorize* our dear sons the prelates, &c. Let no one *dare*, then, to oppose the execution of our present act of concession, power, *indulto*, commission, mandate, establishment, declaration, derogation, and will. And if any one have the *temerity* to commit such an attempt, *let him know, that he incurs the indignation of the Almighty God, and of the most blessed Saint Peter and Saint Paul, his apostles!!!* —Done at Rome, at St. Peter's, the 16th of April, in the year of the incarnation of our Saviour, 1817, and of our pontificate the 18th."

From the commencement of the Spanish struggle for independence, down to the present time, the court of Rome has zealously co-operated with King Ferdinand and his bigoted counsellors, in riveting the fetters of political and ecclesiastical thralldom upon the Spanish people. The mitre and the crown, the one sustained by deep-rooted super-

stitutions urged by the fanatical priesthood, and the other armed with the power of the sword, waged a war of extermination against the opposers of the dogmas of the papal church, and the advocates of those more liberal and enlightened principles, which had made considerable progress through every province of the Peninsula. Up to the time of which I now write, we have beheld nothing but ineffectual and fatal struggles of the friends of freedom against cruelty and oppression—the patriots, goaded to resistance by a series of unexampled persecutions, and then punished with exile or death for attempting to restore liberty to their country. Every noble endeavour for emancipation was followed by a more rigorous application of violence; and every accumulated act of severity on the part of the king was succeeded by renewed efforts, on the part of the people, to break asunder the bonds by which they were held. The patriots had sustained numerous overthrows, but their spirit was yet unsubdued: the court had gained many advantages, but their triumph was still incomplete.

It might be thought, that the fatal results which had followed every attempt to promote a rising of the people, would have operated as an effectual preventive to similar efforts; and yet there were two other instances, which occurred in the year 1817, illustrative of a brave and generous spirit of patriotism, but which were unfortunately defeated by the ruling power. The first was that of Don Vicente Richart, a lawyer and literary character, who had served in a guerilla corps. He succeeded in collecting and engaging in the enterprise a number of individuals; nor was he altogether unsuccessful in making proselytes among the soldiery. Independent of many others of inferior note, two general officers, O'Donoju* and Renovalles, were implicated in

* That both O'Donoju and Renovalles were connected with the affair of Richart, no doubt has ever been entertained, though the actual proofs were too vague for even the judges of Ferdinand to pronounce against them. The former, however, was indebted to his great interest at court, for an exemption from the evil consequences of suspicion. As to his colleague, after several ineffectual efforts to promote a rising in favour of the Constitution, he had the good fortune to escape to London, whence he proceeded to join the patriotic forces in the new world.

the plot, the precise object of which was never clearly ascertained. Richart himself constantly affirmed, that he merely intended to watch a favourable opportunity to surround the king when he left the palace, and prevail on him to restore the Constitution; while others insisted, that the conspirators contemplated the assassination of Ferdinand. Pecuniary funds, but to an inconsiderable amount, had been furnished, and some progress made towards bringing the scheme to maturity; when one of the individuals to whom the whole plan was entrusted, supposed to have been bribed by the ministers, was base enough to betray his coadjutors, on a stipulation of obtaining a pardon for himself. The high character of Richart, which he had always maintained, for disinterestedness, courage, and patriotism, was preserved, and even heightened, by the last scenes of his life, which are thus described. Arrested, and brought before the judges, his talents and resolution only served to aggravate his alleged crimes. Indifferent to the fate which awaited him, the chief care of the accused was to make his example act as a stimulus to others. Richart defended his conduct on the broad principle of public utility, which, according to his arguments, rendered it a sacred duty on the part of all those forming the social body, to aid in rescuing their fellow men from slavery; and, as the system of tyranny established after Ferdinand's return had become intolerable, he considered himself bound by every tie, moral and religious, to assist in effecting the regeneration of Spain. The necessity of performing this duty was the more deeply impressed on his mind, since he felt assured that it might be accomplished without having recourse to any greater act of violence than the one proposed. The prisoner referred to his past services, his patriotic publications, and private life, to prove that neither motives of interest nor ambition had influenced his conduct. "When led to the scaffold," says the historian, "the demeanour of Richart was such as became a votary of freedom: firm and resigned, he died bravely; and instead of indulging in the voice of complaint, his last words are said to have been a fervent ejaculation for the deliverance of his country." Only one of the conspirators suffered with their leader: the rest, about

twelve in number, were sentenced to fine, exile, and imprisonment.

The last, and more important, but not less unsuccessful, attempt made this year, (1817,) in behalf of constitutional liberty, was headed by the celebrated chief, Don Louis Lacy, to whose gallantry and military skill Catalonia was formerly indebted for its liberation from the French army, and who, after the return of Ferdinand, was rewarded by being driven into exile.* The history of this transaction is well related by the author of the 'Historical Review;' and the reflections which accompany the narrative are pertinent and judicious. In the spring of the year, Lacy visited Caldetes, a village on the sea-coast near Barcelona, for the purpose of drinking its mineral waters, and there happened to fall in with a few old acquaintances, whose breasts beat in unison with his own in favour of public liberty, and who mutually joined in deploring the wretched state of their common country. From the mournful accents of unavailing regret, their kindred spirits immediately turned to an inquiry, whether redress was practicable. The real patriot is distinguished by "deeds of noble daring:"—by "deeds of noble daring" were Lacy and his associates inspired.

"Although the result of former efforts in favour of freedom," says Mr. Blaquiere, "were sufficient to deter ordinary men from exposing themselves to the fate of Porlier and Richart, it seemed only to stimulate the patriots of Spain. In the present case, a number of circumstances concurred to render it probable that a well-combined plan would be attended with success. Lacy had long been regarded as one of the best officers in the Peninsula; he

* This species of punishment was acted upon by the Spanish court to an amazing extent, and was executed in a very summary way. Whenever any political opinion was known to be entertained by a military officer, that was not in unison with the proceedings of the government, it was the usual practice of the minister at war, to assign some fortress for his confinement, where he was ordered to be kept under the immediate inspection of the governor, until the suspicions which led to his exile were removed, or during the pleasure of the monarch. On his removal from the captain-generalship of Galicia, Lacy was ordered to Catalonia, and continued there to reside until he conceived the moment had arrived for the liberation of his unhappy country.

had acquired the affection of the army; and was, above all, the staunch and enlightened advocate of liberty. General Milans, Lacy's companion during several campaigns, together with his brother, Don Rafael, a retired colonel of cavalry, were amongst the friends he found at Caldetes; both these meritorious characters placed themselves at his entire disposal; while Don Jose Quer, lieutenant-colonel of the Tarragona regiment, stationed at Arens del Mar, a small sea-port in the vicinity, undertook to ensure the co-operation of that corps. Though the continued enormities of the government were such as to justify a belief on the part of Lacy and his coadjutors, that even a partial movement would be followed by the whole army, it was not until he had communicated with the different garrisons, and received positive assurances of support from all those in Catalonia, that he consented once more to raise the standard of independence. Matters being thus arranged, the 5th of April was named for carrying the project into execution. Considering the state of public opinion, and the abilities of those engaged in the enterprise, sanguine hopes were indulged, that fortune would be more propitious than heretofore. These hopes, however, were cruelly disappointed; for, when on the point of being realized, two subalterns, named Appentel and Nandin, formed the design of betraying the patriots. This act was rendered the more atrocious, from the traitors having been indebted to the bounty and protection of Lacy, while captain-general; a fact, which alone had induced Quer to employ them as his chief agents in gaining over the regiment.

“When informed of the meditated rising, the first step of Lassala, the colonel, was to hasten to the officers' quarters, and ask them whether they were prepared to shed their blood in defence of the king? On being answered in the affirmative, the battalion was immediately assembled on the parade; where the Servile chief contrived, by flattery and promises, to dissuade the men from following two companies which had already marched, under Quer, and his friend, Don Antonio Oliver, to join the leaders at Caldetes. As it was too late to bring these back, the utmost Lassala could do was to despatch emissaries after them,

to induce their return by the assurance of a liberal reward, and such other offers as were most likely to detach them from Lacy. The remainder of the corps were then conducted to an adjacent height, there to await events, and be removed from the probable consequences of having their loyalty shaken by the inhabitants, who appeared extremely anxious to second the views of Lacy and his friends.

“On reaching Caldetes, the two companies were warmly greeted; and after a short harangue from the general, who received them in full uniform, the whole party repaired to the country-house of Don Rafael Milans, close to the village, where they remained in a state of great perplexity till daylight, when they were joined by some officers from Barcelona and Matarosa, who fully confirmed their fears that the plan had been discovered. There being no time to lose, they held a consultation, in which it was determined not to relinquish the enterprise while a single soldier remained: as the men seemed disposed to act, it was decided that they should proceed towards Mataro, and, if not seconded by the garrisons or peasantry on their march, they could at least gain the frontiers, and pass into France.

“Creditable as the above resolution was to the patriots, the commencement was too disheartening to afford any hopes of success: they had, accordingly, been only a few hours on the road, before the agents employed by Lassala prevailed on the soldiers suddenly to turn round, and take the direction of Arens del Mar, leaving Lacy and his companions to their fate. It was in vain that Milans, and the other officers, expostulated with them on this unexpected defection: their fears had been so worked upon by Cuero, the principal emissary, that neither entreaties nor remonstrances had any effect; it therefore only remained for the leaders to provide for their own safety in the best manner they could.

“A general had been sent, in the mean time, from Barcelona, by Castanos, to co-operate with Lassala in quelling the insurrection, although the former is said to have given secret directions that no obstacle should be opposed to the escape of Lacy: this did not prevent measures from being taken to arrest both the patriot general and his fol-

lowers. Various parties were despatched in pursuit of the fugitives, who proceeded by different roads, some directing their steps towards the French frontier, while others endeavoured to reach the coast. Quer and Oliver owed their escape to the forbearance of an officer named Cabrera, who, in the true spirit of patriotism and humanity, kept aloof till assured of their safety, when he entered the house in which they had slept the preceding night, and, seizing their swords and uniforms, sent these to Lassala as proofs of his vigilance. The latter, having gone in person to secure Milans, could find only his wife and daughter, who were despatched under an escort, as hostages, to Barcelona; while the general himself, accompanied by two infant sons, whom he was determined not to leave behind, after a series of adventures which would form no bad episode to a romance or melo-drama, reached the small fishing-town of Badalona, and embarked for Gibraltar, whence he sailed to Buenos Ayres, there to serve the cause of South American independence until happier circumstances should enable him to revisit his native country.*

A much severer fate attended Lacy, and those who had to share his fortunes. In consequence of an order issued by the governor of Mataro, calling upon the peasantry, on pain of death, to assist in the pursuit, the fugitives were forced to take refuge in a farm-house, whose proprietor was base enough to betray them soon after their departure for the frontiers. Intimidated by the above peremptory mandate, and strictly enjoined to obey it by their spiritual advisers, who had, as usual, made common cause with the Servile leaders, a large party came up with Lacy and his friends, and threatened to fire on them if they did not surrender. On hearing this unexpected summons from

* Although Milans was thus unable to share the glory of personally aiding the heroes of San Fernando, he had the consolation of being eminently useful to the cause of freedom in South America; and, on his return to Barcelona in 1820, was received with acclamations; when the event was celebrated by rejoicings and addresses of congratulation from the municipality and other public bodies. To increase the joy of this public officer, he found Madame Milans and her children—waiting only his arrival, to complete their happiness.

those who had been till then regarded as friends, the general came forward, and, with great calmness, replied, that he was ready to do so, but would not deliver his sword, or be taken alive, except by a military officer. The dignified manner in which Lacy expressed himself had such an effect on the infatuated peasants, that many of them instantly retired: a few, however, calculating on the reward which had been offered for his apprehension, persisted in their demand; and a violent altercation ensued. This was proceeding to extremities; when an officer and a file of soldiers appeared, and put an end to the dispute. On Lacy's presenting his sword, the former refused to accept it, observing, in a respectful tone, 'The weapon cannot be in better hands, general; your excellency must therefore excuse me from taking it.' Having at length surmounted his scruples, the prisoner was conducted to Blanes, and thence escorted to the citadel of Barcelona.

"Tried by the commission for the prosecution of the patriots, the general was condemned in the same illegal manner as Porlier, and might have been executed with as little ceremony, were it not for his popularity, and, consequently, a fear lest the garrison would have interfered to prevent the execution of the sentence. Of all those acts which have rendered the reign of terror memorable, the subterfuge adopted for the purpose of sacrificing Lacy is the most worthy of execration. It was while one universal cry for mercy ascended the throne of Ferdinand, in behalf of this unfortunate chief, that the ministers ordered him to be conveyed to Majorca, under pretence of commuting his sentence into imprisonment. Reaching that island on the 30th of June, he was shut up in the castle of Bellver, and had been only four days in confinement, when Algarre, the judge-advocate, who officiated at his trial, presented himself to the unsuspecting victim, read his sentence, and notified that it would be carried into execution at five o'clock on the following morning! It was no wonder if this abrupt announcement of his last hour, when he might perhaps be indulging the fond hope of once more embracing his wife and child, or that he might yet live to see Spain free, occasioned a severe shock:

the hero, however, is said to have speedily recovered from the first impulse of horror, so natural at such a moment, and tranquilly observed, 'I was not prepared to hear this sentence; but, since it must be so, I will be ready.'

"Thus betrayed, and condemned to suffer at a distance from his relatives and friends, the death of Lacy was imbittered a thousand-fold: yet do all the details which have transpired relative to this sad event concur in proving, that it exhibited a rare example of unaffected courage and manly fortitude. The few hours of preparation afforded to Lacy were occupied in drawing out a will in favour of his wife, and in giving directions relative to the education of their only child, who was recommended to the protection of that country which his parent had so faithfully served. A slave to his professional duties, and incessantly called upon to make pecuniary sacrifices in support of freedom, the general had scarcely any property to bequeath.

"Prompted by more zeal than prudence, the friends of Lacy have recently taken great pains to prove that he died a staunch votary to the Catholic faith, conforming to all its ceremonies. A number of depositions, describing those circumstances which took place just before his death, have been circulated, to confirm these unimportant assertions. It would, perhaps, be more flattering to his memory, had the original reports remained uncontradicted. Like Porlier, the hero of Catalonia also attached more importance to the practice of virtue than to the forms of religious worship; so that when surrounded by the band of priests that usually flock to the aid of the condemned in Spain, as well to discover their secrets as to prepare them for paradise, Lacy is said to have betrayed some doubts as to their means of consoling his wounded spirit, smarting, as it was, under the impressions created by the conduct of his persecutors. Minutely versed in the history of his country, the general could not forget that nearly all its misfortunes had originated in superstition or fanaticism; and when he recollected that those who now came to preach peace and good-will belonged to a class which had invariably opposed the progress of liberty, how could the dying hero possibly reconcile the mild and amiable doctrines of Christ

with that misplaced devotion which could as readily denounce a patriot, as it could offer absolution to the vilest and most degraded criminal? There is, in fact, every reason to believe, that although Lacy was incapable of giving offence to his spiritual guides, (who were, doubtless, honourable exceptions to the body,) by an open expression of his sentiments, he at least convinced them that his hopes in futurity were derived from a much more exalted source than the elevated cross and consecrated wafer. In other respects, few could have less need of external consolation than one whose whole life had been marked by a scrupulous regard for the obligations of morality and virtue; while his magnanimity and personal bravery in a hundred combats bore testimony to the indifference with which he could meet the final hour.

“The only advantage enjoyed by the Catalonian chief over his illustrious rival in the lists of fame, was that of being shot, instead of suffering the more ignoble fate of Porlier. There is good ground for inferring, that his enemies thought even this indulgence a great favour, though it is clearly proved they dreaded the consequence of a public execution. Conducted to a ditch of the castle, at five in the morning, accompanied by a priest, and a file of soldiers destined to terminate his existence, the death of Lacy presents more the character of a midnight murder than a judicial decree carried into effect for the purpose of a salutary example—the object of all punishments, under a government of law and justice.”

During the remainder of this, and the following year, no important political events occurred: the same disgusting policy was still pursued by the court, that had marked its career since the king's return; and the patriotic party appeared to sink into a state of complete exhaustion. Ferdinand, however, in this interval, published a definitive decree relative to the Spanish exiles, which was excessively cruel towards one class of his subjects, and but very partially beneficial to another. By this state-instrument, all those who had acted under Joseph Buonaparte, in quality of counsellors, ministers, &c. all military officers, down to the rank of captains inclusively, who served under his banners, were for ever banished from their country. With these

exceptions, all other fugitives were permitted to return, under certain prescribed conditions, one of which was, that they should fix their domicile in a determined place, at a prescribed distance from the capital and royal palaces.

On the 20th of January, 1819, Charles the Fourth, the abdicated king of Spain, ended his days at Rome, in the 71st year of his age, having survived his consort only a fortnight. This circumstance, in itself of small importance, was at the time regarded as a favourable event for King Ferdinand, whose justly discontented subjects it deprived of a rallying point. Charles himself had been much less the object of unpopularity than his queen, and her favourite the Prince of Peace; and his restoration appears to have been for a moment contemplated by the Liberales of Spain.

In the mean time, the spirit of disaffection was daily extending itself amongst the higher classes of society, and especially amongst the military; whilst the lower, in several provinces—in Andalusia, Estremadura, New Castile, and particularly in the district of La Mancha—indulged themselves in all the excesses which a feeble and ill-conducted government is unable to restrain. The high roads were infested with numerous bands of robbers, evidently acting under a regularly organized system, who manifested somewhat of a political object in their depredations, by attacking with much greater eagerness all persons charged with the receipt of money for government, than individuals travelling on their private affairs. One of these troops was stated to have amounted to three hundred men.

A conspiracy against the government was formed in the city of Valencia, which, like numbers of others, was discovered, and rendered abortive, when just on the point of being carried into effect. On this occasion, General Elio, the military governor of the province, seized the opportunity of completing what he had commenced in 1814: after putting the gallant leader, Colonel Vidal, and twelve of his companions, to an ignominious death, their bodies were exposed on a gibbet, as objects of terror to the peaceful inhabitants. Not satisfied with the blood of so many victims, more than two hundred individuals of both sexes were arrested, and thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition,

by order of this modern Attila; who is further described as having personally assisted in applying the torture of the Holy Office to numbers, with a view of discovering all the accomplices of Vidal, and spreading dismay among the patriots generally. Acting throughout the terrific drama as judge and executioner, neither age, sex, nor condition, escaped this sanguinary minister of vengeance, whose order of the day, issued previous to sacrificing the patriots, deserves to be recorded as a specimen of *legitimate* rule in the nineteenth century, and to furnish another proof of what the people of Spain were doomed to suffer under its agents. The following is a correct copy of this precious document.—

Proclamation issued by Elio, Captain-General of Valencia, previous to the Execution of the brave Colonel Vidal, and twelve of his Companions, amongst whom was young Bertran de Lis.

“Inhabitants of Valencia, and you, brave Soldiers!

“Beware of shewing any compassion for the scene which this day will offer to your astonished sight; but, on the contrary, reflect on the enormity of the crime which consigns these monsters to death, and to the shame of expiring on a scaffold. Their conspiracy had no less an object than the overthrow of the monarchy, the destruction of the laws, revenge, plunder, and other projects, which would have caused rivers of blood to flow: they wished to subject the Spanish nation to an eternal disgrace, by exposing it to Europe as the accomplice of their atrocious revolutions!—Providence, which watches over you, has employed inscrutable means for enabling government to punish the enemies of the throne, the laws, and religion: it has empowered me to arrest and convict the thirteen monsters whom you will see executed this morning.—Inhabitants of Valencia, these traitors are not the only ones who are amongst you; they have accomplices and satellites dispersed through all classes in the nation.—Loyal inhabitants, and you, brave soldiers, who have been in all times models of fidelity to the king, and of submission to the laws of your ancestors; you, whose indignation is an evident proof of the hatred you have for these monsters; hasten to accuse them to me,

and *I shall annihilate them all*. The advice I give you is necessary for your happiness and tranquillity. So long as a traitor exists, you cannot have any repose. So long as the hateful principles of these wretches are not entirely eradicated, fathers, you will not have obedient children; husbands, you cannot have faithful wives; friendship can no longer exist; confidence will no longer prevail in commerce; the laws will lose all their vigour; and the very recollection of the social virtues be effaced: we shall end by destroying each other; the son will murder his father and mother. If this picture terrifies and seems chimerical to you, look to France, and the history of the period in which we live will soon convince you of the truth of what I say. The principles which have destroyed that monarchy are the same as those which your enemies endeavoured to disseminate, and with which they try to involve us in ruin.—But fear nothing: God, who protects our Catholic country, has endowed it with the most brilliant virtues; and none shall succeed in alienating it from its duties towards the king and our holy religion. For the preservation of this religion, and the defence of the throne, a great number of commanders, whose fidelity is undoubted, are to be found. Valencia contains many of them. Have confidence in your general; you will always find him at the head of all worthy subjects. (*Valencia, January 20th, 1819.*) ELIO.”

In the month of May, a fresh revolution took place in the administration, which within the last five years had changed as many times: one of the ministers was ordered to quit Madrid in an hour; and another was recommended to repair to some town in the kingdom of Granada, until he should receive an appointment in that quarter. Financial difficulties, which each set of counsellors in its turn tried to overcome, and found insuperable, were believed to be the true cause of these endless vicissitudes in the cabinet of Ferdinand the Seventh.

The sailing of the long-intended expedition from Cadiz, for the recovery of the revolted provinces of South America, continued to be postponed from time to time; for the equipment of a single squadron was now an effort which exhausted

all the resources of this great kingdom, once, by its power and riches, the tyrant and the terror of Europe. The Spanish marine, since the fatal alliance formed with France in the year 1796, and the long series of national misfortunes which had resulted from this step, had sunk into the last stage of decay. The navy had been annihilated, the arsenals emptied, and the forests of the kingdom destroyed. In the present emergency, therefore, the government had found it necessary to make application to Russia, to furnish vessels for the South American expedition, and a considerable number had arrived at Cadiz. But these ships, which were built only of pine, and had already seen much service, were soon discovered to be in so bad a state, that very considerable repairs were requisite to fit them for the voyage. During the delay occasioned by this circumstance, a spirit of mutiny gained upon the soldiers destined for the service, which broke out just as other difficulties had at length been surmounted, and the preparations appeared on the point of being completed. Very decided symptoms now made it manifest, that the troops would not allow themselves to be embarked on board bad ships, badly fitted out, and, above all, badly commanded, in order to restore the colonies to the domination of a prince whose arbitrary system of government had already disgusted themselves. In the night of the 7th of June, Count Abisbal, (O'Donnell,) the commander-in-chief, became apprised of the existence of a conspiracy in the first division of the army, which he felt the necessity of strangling in its birth. He quitted Cadiz with despatch and secrecy, and collected the troops in garrison at the Isle of Leon and Puerto Real, to the number of 4000. With this force having surrounded the disaffected camp, 7000 strong, he caused the soldiers to lay down their arms, pronounced the dismissal of the officers, above a hundred and twenty of whom he took into custody, and disposed the regiments among the towns of Andalusia.* The whole was performed without resistance,

* Of all those who have appeared on the political stage of Spain, during her conflict with foreign and domestic enemies, Henry O'Donnell, Count Abisbal, is unquestionably the most wavering and enigmatical:

and without bloodshed, by means of the great ascendancy of the commander over the minds of his troops; but the

his name, however, is so intimately connected with the history of the last eight years, and more especially with those events which led to the re-establishment of freedom, that it cannot be passed over in silence. A sketch of this general's biography, in which a different colouring is also given to some of the occurrences above related, is drawn by Mr. Blaquiere, and possesses considerable interest; particularly as at this period (1823) he holds a chief command in the patriotic armies of Spain.—"The immediate descendant of a family driven from Ireland by the same causes which expatriated that of Lacy and so many others, the count, much more highly favoured on the score of fortune than the hero of Catalonia, had the reputation of being nearly his equal in military knowledge and personal bravery, qualities which he frequently displayed during the war of independence. It was, however, just after the laurels of O'Donnell had been fresh gathered in the field of honour, and while the Liberales conceived they had not a more staunch supporter or determined friend, that the army of reserve under his command followed the baneful example of Elio's corps, and declared in favour of despotism, against the Constitution. Whatever might have been the motive which induced the count thus to sacrifice such dearly-earned fame, and the interests of his country, it is certain he retained his honours and emoluments in 1814, while his nomination to the board of general officers for re-organizing the army proved he had become a favourite at court. Like all those who vacillate in their political principles, a variety of anecdotes are in circulation relative to the subsequent conduct of Count Abisbal: the few particulars I am about to relate were communicated to me; and as they have been in a great measure confirmed by respectable testimony, there is the less reason to doubt their authenticity.—That O'Donnell was not sincere in his adherence to Ferdinand, is evident from the correspondence he is said to have entered into with the confidential attendants of Charles the Fourth, in 1815, for the avowed purpose of restoring the old monarch, and converting him into a constitutional king. Having, on his return from the French frontier, met Lacy here, they made up a misunderstanding which had occurred some years before, and solemnly engaged thenceforth to co-operate with each other in the great work of national regeneration. Appointed Captain-general of Andalusia soon after, the count was one of those who urged Lacy to strike the first blow in Catalonia, promising faithfully to support the attempt with all the troops under his command at Cadiz and its vicinity. Notwithstanding his famous order of the day on the failure of Porrier, which once more shook the confidence inspired by his recent professions, Abisbal took great pains to manifest his wishes in favour of a change; when, in addition to his former appointment, he was named commander-in-chief of the expedition, towards the end of 1818. One of the reasons now alleged by the general, for the vehemence with which he expressed his opinions,

expedition was totally disconcerted: the mutinous troops could not be trusted, and the regiments by whom they had

and called upon the officers to join him in proclaiming the Constitution, arose from his anxiety to atone for having, through false zeal and misplaced loyalty, contributed to its suspension in 1814. Difficult as it was to confide in the promises of one who had so often varied, the count gave such proofs of sincerity on this occasion, that he at length succeeded in making converts of the most sceptical. The prospect which now opened before O'Donnell was truly flattering: he had recovered the esteem of his fellow-soldiers, and was about to obtain immortality by leading them on to the goal of freedom. A day being fixed for proclaiming the Constitution, the duties of all those who were destined to participate in the sacred enterprise were traced out, and confidential agents selected to prepare the minds of the soldiery. As the time of declaring themselves approached, the patriots, justly apprehensive of the evil consequences which could not fail to result from having the civil administration in the hands of a military chief, proposed that a provisional junta of government should be appointed until the cortes could be assembled. The count is said to have been quite indignant at a proposal which seemed to call his own talents and patriotism in question; and expressions are attributed to him, which, if ever uttered, certainly justify the determination of the officers not to act, nor proceed in the design, on any other terms. The general, and his second in command, Sarsfield, also the intimate friend of Lacy, are supposed to have from that moment renounced the project: this intention, however, was carefully concealed. It having been previously arranged, that the troops should encamp at Port St. Mary's, and the 15th of July appointed for carrying the plan into execution, O'Donnell called his friends together, and informed them, that, as there was every reason to believe the whole scheme had been discovered by the court, it would be impossible to wait so long; he had therefore determined to fix the morning of the 8th for effecting the object in view, and hoped this would be equally agreeable to their wishes. The communication was most joyfully received, and no suspicion entertained of the intended change on the part of their leader. Orders were accordingly issued for the regiments to assemble on the plain of Palmar, near Xerez, at which town Sarsfield was quartered with the cavalry. The general himself left Cadiz on the evening of the 7th, causing those of the inhabitants who were in the secret to inform the people that he was going to proclaim the Constitution, and would return the following day to perform the same office amongst them; alleging, that as the army had unfortunately destroyed it in 1814, the first cry of liberty should emanate from the camp, so as to efface the errors of that melancholy period. Nothing could exceed the joy evinced by all those who heard this piece of intelligence; and preparations were immediately commenced to receive the expected deliverer of his country. Landing at Port St. Mary's, O'Donnell placed himself at the head of some infantry stationed

been disarmed had only been bribed to render this piece of service, by the promise of Count Abisbal that they should not be embarked for South America; the conduct of the general himself incurred suspicion, and he was dismissed from his command.

General Elio continued to pursue his measures for the suppression of conspiracy in the kingdom of Valencia, with a keenness which produced not discontent alone among the inhabitants, but resistance on the part of the local magistrates, several of whom were thrown into prison on their refusal to execute the commands of the military governor. The dungeons of the city became so crowded with political delinquents, that it was found necessary to transfer some of the number to Murviedro. Torture is said to have been applied to one of the prisoners, on his refusal to acknowledge the words which he was accused of having uttered by one of the secret agents of the police, who had treacherously drawn him into discourse on public affairs.

there, and proceeded with them to join the main body, while Sarsfield led on the cavalry from Xerez. The troops were drawn out, and had already gone through the usual evolutions, when the second in command and Abisbal appeared at the same moment advancing in opposite directions. Expectation was at its height, and both officers and men were congratulating each other on the joyful event which would soon terminate the reign of terror. It is, however, evident, that the parties who accompanied the general and his friend had been taught their lesson; for on Sarsfield perceiving him, his first movement was to ride rapidly along the line, followed by several squadrons of horse, exclaiming, "*Viva el Rey!*" This ominous watch-word being repeated by the count and his party, it soon became general; nor was it until he had summoned the colonels around him, and told them they were prisoners in the king's name, that the patriots would credit the evidence of their senses. It would be vain to attempt describing the astonishment and indignation excited by this extraordinary proceeding; but before there was sufficient time, either to express their sentiments on such treatment, or appeal to the troops, each of the prisoners, fifteen in number, including the flower of the patriot chiefs and heroes of La Isla, were hurried off under escorts, and confined in the neighbouring castles. This act, which requires no comment, as it speaks for itself, did not secure to Abisbal the confidence or favour of the court; for, although well received on his arrival here, he was immediately called upon to resign his command; and Count Calderon, a name till then scarcely known to the army, was appointed his successor.

The Inquisition, which had lent itself without scruple to the political enterprises of the government, was invested with the superintendence and control of all the other magistrates.

The scourge of pestilence was soon after added to all the other evils of this distracted country. The yellow fever disclosed itself at Cadiz in the month of August, and, spreading to Seville, and other towns in the south, committed horrible ravages. The number of deaths was from thirty to forty daily, out of a population of 70,000 souls.

Ferdinand, who had become a widower at the close of the year 1818, issued, on the 12th of August in this year, the following decree, rendered worthy of preservation by the extraordinary style in which it is expressed: "The supreme tribunals of the capital, the deputies of my kingdom, the different municipalities, several religious communities, and many other corporate bodies, have represented to me how advantageous and necessary it would be to the well-being of the nation in general, and to all Christendom, to preserve, by means of a new nuptial union, the legitimate succession of the throne upon which Divine Providence has placed me. I have listened with favour to the just desires with which all these bodies are animated, and have yielded to their ardent wishes; and, considering the high nobility of the Saxon blood, and of the most serene princes who compose that august family—the alliances, ancient as well as recent, that adorn it—the particular attachment that his majesty King Frederick Augustus has always entertained for the crown of Spain—and, above all, the rare and sublime qualities which heaven has granted to the most serene princess, Maria Josephina Amelia, his niece, daughter of the most high and most puissant prince, Maximilian, and of the most serene princess, Carolina Maria Theresa, of glorious memory—I have chosen Don Ferdinand de Aguilar y Contreras, Marquis of Cerralbo, that he should go and propose to that monarch my hand and my throne for the said princess. Having then imparted to his majesty and her highness my sovereign intentions, they have testified with profound veneration, how agreeable such a union would be to them, as also to all Saxony. I now inform the council thereof,

that it may be apprised of it, and share the satisfaction which this new union creates in me; from which, I trust, will ensue consequences the most favourable to the Catholic religion and to my subjects."

The new queen arrived safely in Spain in the following month. It was hoped, that on this joyful occasion an act of grace would have sanctioned the return of a portion, at least, of the exiled patriots: but conciliation formed no part of the policy of Ferdinand the Seventh; and, in answer to certain solicitations on this subject, a confidential minister of his majesty dryly answered, "This affair must be left to time."

CHAPTER VII.

Change in the Public Mind—Re-assembling of the expeditionary Army—Renewal of patriotic Efforts—Quiroga appointed General-in-chief—Riego undertakes the Liberation of the popular Leaders—He proclaims the Constitution at Las Cabezas—Succeeds in arresting the royal Commander and his Staff at Arcos—Obtains Reinforcements from the Spanish Army—Forms a Junction with Quiroga—Quiroga's Proclamation—Royal Army put in Motion—Success of the Patriots in seizing on the Arsenal—Formation of Riego's flying Column—Its heroic Courage and Sufferings—Inability of Riego to regain the Isle of Leon—San Miguel's Narrative of the flying Column—Quiroga maintains himself in the Isle of Leon—Patriotic Movements in Galicia—at Ferrol—in Navarre—Alarm of the Court—Ineffectual Attempt of Ferdinand at Conciliation—Abisbal declares for the Patriots—Popular Ferment at Madrid—The People demand the Constitution—The King accepts it, and issues a royal Circular to that Effect—Appointment of popular Ministers, and their Measures—Official Narrative of the Massacre at Cadiz—Further Particulars of that Tragedy—Baseness of its Authors.

WE now approach a period of our history which, above all others, claims the highest interest. The year 1820 is one of the most eventful in the annals of Spain; when the rulers of that devoted country reaped the natural fruits of a system of abuse and tyranny, which had distinguished its administration ever since the restoration of Ferdinand. To the dissolution of the cortes in 1814, and the return

of the king to the maxims of government so long adhered to by his predecessors, but very feeble opposition had been offered: but six years of multiplied oppression and accumulating embarrassments had sufficiently undeceived even the most bigoted on this subject, and the people were at length taught to know, that their only security for the proper administration of government was to be found in their own participation in a portion of its functions.

In the course of November, 1819, the pestilence in the Isle of Leon seemed gradually to abate of its malignity, and before the close of the month it entirely ceased, after having carried off little less than 5000 individuals. On the 2d of December, a *Te Deum* was sung, in acknowledgment of this relief: and the government then renewed its exertions to complete the preparations for the expedition, upon the embarkation of which it appeared to be as earnestly bent as ever. The troops, which had been dispersed in different quarters, were again re-assembled, to the amount of 16,000 or 18,000 men; and the Count de Calderon, commander-in-chief, with the naval minister, Cisneros, employed all their activity in making up for the time which had been so unavoidably lost. But an event was at hand, which decided the fate of the expedition, and probably of the monarchy itself. A body of 6000 troops were about to be immediately embarked for the reinforcement of Morillo in Venezuela: this determined the execution of a plan which had long been in agitation. It has been already observed, that the conspiracy of the preceding July was generally understood not to have been confined to the troops which were disarmed by O'Donnell, and that there was good reason to suspect that that general, as well as the second in command, Sarsfield, had been themselves privy to the designed revolt; a fact respecting which the confessions of O'Donnell, subsequent to the revolution, no longer leave any doubt. A considerable number of officers of different ranks concerted measures for renewing the attempt which had before failed. The general disinclination for the expedition, which was known to prevail among the soldiery, was a sufficient pledge that the great body of the troops would promote the execution of any plan

which promised them an exemption from a service so disagreeable; and they depended upon the universal unpopularity of the government of Ferdinand for the ultimate countenance and support of the people.

Before the removal of Count Abisbal, a general rising had been arranged; and one of the principal objects which occupied the attention of the patriots was, to fix upon a leader whose zeal was unquestionable, and on whose fidelity dependence might be placed. After some deliberation on a point so important, a resolution was unanimously adopted to appoint Antonio Quiroga to the envied post of general-in-chief: his having been distinguished as one of the most zealous members of the secret societies, his character for steadiness, as well as being the senior colonel arrested on the 8th of July, fixed his claims, and abundantly justified the choice. Quiroga, however, was a close prisoner, and a bold and decisive measure was necessary for his rescue, before he could be placed at the head of the patriotic band. The execution of this enterprise of honour was reserved for Rafael de Riego,* a man who, by his active energies,

* Perhaps there is no individual among the Spanish patriots who has rendered more important services to the cause of national freedom than General Riego: he has been enthusiastically honoured among all ranks, as the deliverer of his country, and by none more than by the female sex. When Riego made his triumphant entry into Madrid, the most beautiful women in the kingdom smiled upon him, while the fairest hands threw flowers into the vehicle which bore him through the streets. Just as he alighted from his carriage, a young and elegant female was seen making her way through the crowd which surrounded the patriot chief: on reaching the spot, she took his arm, and would not give it up till he retired from public view. This young lady's heart had been given to a young officer, who was one of the first to raise the cry of Spanish regeneration; and her sufferings had been acute during the three months he was fighting for freedom in the midst of so many perils. Taking this circumstance into calculation, the cause of her attachment to Riego, who had encountered the same dangers as her lover, and the extravagant manner of manifesting it, are less to be wondered at. Count Pecchio, in his '*Anecdotes*,' furnishes a lively illustration of the vivacity, as well as patriotism, of this young Spanish heroine, in an extempore sketch drawn by her of the character of the Spanish chief.—"Having had the good fortune to find her at home," says the author, "I profited by the circumstance, and begged she would describe the hero of Las Cabezas.

was well qualified for the post assigned him, and who, besides, was an enthusiastic advocate for the constitutional system. Some few days before the arrests occurred, this officer joined the camp at Palmar; and it is likely he would have shared the same fate as the other patriots, but that a severe illness compelled him to retire to Bornos, where he remained till the 10th of November, and was then summoned to take part in the conferences which related to the

Without betraying the least hesitation, I immediately received the following answer: 'I have so perfect a recollection, that if I was an adept in portrait painting, I should be able to draw as correct a likeness of Riego from memory, as if he sat to me for his picture; but, to give his physiognomy all its expression, it is necessary to be something more than an artist: he who attempts to paint Riego should feel the same sacred fire of liberty that burns in the soul of his original. Riego is not handsome; but of what consequence is personal beauty? he possesses those of the understanding, which are infinitely more important. I think I now see his dark eyes, full of vivacity and enterprise, his manly complexion, and that mouth which seems to express all the refined delicacy of his sentiments; his hair is also dark; he is of middling stature, and has a very martial air; his gait and general appearance is that of a hero. Riego is incessantly consumed by his love of liberty: and such is the natural intensity of his feelings, that it was easy to perceive him falling away during the five days of agitation occasioned by his visit to this place last year. I should be justified in saying that Riego is diaphanous; for every body can penetrate his thoughts. His countenance is not impregnated with that mysterious melancholy which is so often the characteristic of ambition: the Spanish hero is too ardent and enterprising long to remain wrapped up in his own thoughts. He is a brother to the soldiery: a private and sergeant of the guards dine at his table every day. He was above two years a prisoner in France, during the war of independence; and, while there, employed the time in cultivating his mind and reading the best authors: he speaks French and Italian with fluency. But how am I to express the amiability of his manners to my own sex! I could not possibly leave him, on the day of his entry into Madrid: I knew he was aware of my attachment to an officer of his battalion, who had participated in all his recent perils and fatigues; he spoke frequently of my friend, and seemed to dwell with pleasure on his courage and constancy. It is reported that Riego is about to marry: if so, I shall be truly mortified; for then we can no longer say that he only lives for his country, and is exclusively attached to liberty! No! He ought not to marry: the marriage of such a man seems an act of infidelity to the nation:—is he not *her* lover? And then—other women would no longer enjoy the privilege of admiring him!'"

projected rising. At this time, Riego laboured under extreme debility, arising from his severe affliction, but nothing could restrain the ardour inspired by the hopes of rescuing his country from the domination of tyranny; and though he was aware of the dangers and difficulties which surrounded the enterprise, he adopted it without hesitation. Those who were intimately conversant with the history of these transactions affirm, that his exertions were altogether incredible, and such as left him scarcely any time for sleep or refreshment. Firm, ardent, active, and undaunted, he communicated a portion of his unconquerable spirit to others, and was pre-eminently distinguished in securing the success which crowned their subsequent efforts.

The friends of freedom also found in Antonio Alcala Galiano, one of the most eloquent men in Spain, a coadjutor worthy of the cause and its noble supporters. The court had long wished to get rid of this powerful orator and resolute patriot, and had appointed him secretary of legation at the court of Brazils. Arrived at Gibraltar, under pretence of procuring a passage, he obtained a knowledge of the secret preparations which were on foot, and instantly turned all his thoughts to the means of saving his country. Having succeeded in obtaining the confidence of all the exiles who happened to be in that fortress, he prevailed upon them to hold themselves in readiness to take advantage of the first popular movement; while he repaired to Cadiz, and, by the credit he possessed with the principal merchants there, raised considerable sums for the necessary expenses of the intended plan. At the same time, some promising efforts were made to secure the co-operation of the garrison and inhabitants of that city.

An extensive correspondence having been entered into with the provinces, and assurances received of support, the next and most important point to be settled was, to fix the precise period for commencing the work of liberation. It was for want of some such concert, or its being defeated, that every previous attempt had proved abortive. The first day of the new year was agreed upon as the most suitable and appropriate; and that day was finally determined upon, as the second epoch of Spanish regeneration.

In the mean time, Riego and his friends were actively employed in completing the military preparations, and concerting the liberation of Quiroga, Arco Aquero, chief of the staff, and their brave companions, shut up in prison by Abisbal. Every thing being now settled for operations, it was finally decided, that Riego, with the battalion of Asturias stationed at Las Cabezas de San Juan, and the Seville regiment at Villa Martin, should proceed to Arcos, Calderon's head-quarters; while Quiroga should march, at the head of two other regiments, from Alcala, the place of his confinement, to La Isla, moving along the Cortadura, so as to arrive by daybreak at the walls of Cadiz, when the gates were to be thrown open to give him entrance.

The opening of this memorable campaign of liberty presented many and strong circumstances of discouragement. Riego had great bodily weakness; the season was unfavourable, in the midst of a severe winter, when the roads were rendered almost impassable; the patriotic band was surrounded by at least 12,000 of the king's army, to the greatest part of whom it had not been deemed prudent to make known the intention of revolt; and, finally, the uncertainty of those remaining firm to whom the secret was confided. The fair consideration of these perils is necessary, in order to the due appreciation of Riego's undertaking; to which may be added, his conviction, that should the enterprise be defeated, his life, and the lives of his compatriots, must pay the forfeit. It was, however, in the face of these formidable dangers, that the general, at an early hour of the 1st of January 1820, ordered the battalion of Asturias to be drawn out; when, after an animated address from Riego, on the sacred duty they were called upon to perform, he proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, amidst the ardent acclamations of his companions in arms and the inhabitants of Las Cabezas, who were collected around him to testify their approval of the happy event. At this place, and from this day, may be dated the commencement of successful resistance to oppression; though the good cause was destined to sustain many severe trials, and even reverses, before its final triumph.

Immediately after the proclaiming of the constitutional

code, the election of the civil authorities took place; and this procedure necessarily occupied such a time, that it was late in the afternoon before the regiment could leave Las Cabezas. The rain now fell in torrents; it was dark; the line of march lay through cross-roads, which were almost entirely broken up; and it was not before day-break on the morning of the 2d, after a fatiguing march of more than twelve hours, that the regiment arrived within a short distance of Arcos. It was at this point, according to previous arrangement, that Riego was to be joined by the corps from Villa Martin; but he had the mortification of learning that it had, from the ignorance of its guides, taken a wrong direction, and could not be expected to join for some time. What made this misfortune more dangerous was, that the battalion was now exposed to the view of the garrison of Arcos, twice as numerous as itself, strongly posted, and quite fresh; while Riego's men were completely exhausted with their march, having been under arms for nearly twenty-four hours. It is under strong emergencies, that the greatness of men's minds is measured; and it was in the present pressing dilemma, that the general shewed himself fitted for the arduous and hazardous task which the calls of his country had imposed upon him. Advancing to reconnoitre the force at Arcos, while the officers and men were ruminating on the danger which surrounded them, he suddenly returned, ordered the drum to beat to arms, reiterated his instructions to those appointed to arrest Calderon and his staff, and boldly entered the town, the band making the air resound with a popular national air. On a rising ground close to the barrier, he posted a part of the regiment; and, occupying the market-place with a few companies, the arrest of Calderon, and the second in command, Salvador, with the whole staff, was effected in less than an hour, and without serious opposition. Not a moment was lost in proclaiming the political code in this place, and electing local authorities. On this critical occasion, the decision and presence of mind shewn by Riego are above all praise, and prove that he was fully aware of the momentous consequences of a successful execution of the object confided to his courage and conduct. A failure in

this part of the general arrangement must have proved fatal to the whole; and it reflects no small degree of lustre on his management, that he effected his purpose with less than half the force that had been thought necessary for its accomplishment. Information was immediately transmitted to Quiroga, informing him of what had been achieved.

Having transferred his prisoners to a place of greater security, Riego directed all his efforts to gain over the troops stationed at Arcos; and although this was a work of difficulty, on account of the unremitted pains taken by Calderon to prevent their defection, yet he finally succeeded in his object. Of Quiroga's movements he was still ignorant; he therefore employed this interval in collecting such battalions as were quartered round the neighbourhood. A previous understanding had been established with some officers of the regiment of Bornos, but whose colonel was known to be hostile: neither this circumstance, nor the excessive fatigue he had undergone, prevented Riego from selecting a detachment of three hundred men, and marching to that place. Having halted within a few hundred yards of the town, and proceeded alone to the entrance, Riego was met by some of his friends, to whom he communicated the result of his expedition to Arcos: the tidings spread with rapidity through the battalion, which assembled immediately, and was in less than an hour on its march to head-quarters, leaving the colonel to his meditations, and the command of some convalescents recently recovered from the yellow fever. On reaching Arcos, the party was received with enthusiastic acclamations of "Long live Riego and the Constitution!" A general muster taking place soon after, the officers and soldiers testified their admiration of Riego's gallant exploits, and unanimously invested him with the rank of general-in-chief. The first use he made of his new dignity was to assemble the civil authorities, the military, and the inhabitants, and make them swear fealty to the Constitution.

The badness of the roads, occasioned by incessant rains, had prevented Quiroga from uniting his little army with that of Riego; and the latter, still in ignorance of his

colleague's progress, determined upon marching on Xeres and Port St. Mary, in both which places he proclaimed the Constitution. He was here joined by several officers of rank; and then proceeding to the Isle of Leon, he formed a junction with the troops under Quiroga. The whole patriotic body was formed of seven battalions, comprising about 5000 men, and now assumed the designation of "The national army." Quiroga was elected general-in-chief; Riego second in command: and the former, on taking the post to which he was called, addressed the following proclamation to the troops in Andalusia.—

"Soldiers!—Placed at your head by the choice of the officers of the army, I shall speak to you with that frankness which ought to exist between companions in arms. Our Spain is on the verge of destruction: your ruin would be completed by that of the country; you were destined to death, more for the purpose of releasing the government from the dread inspired by your courage, than to make a conquest of the colonies—a thing which is now become impossible. In the mean time, your families remained in the most merciless slavery, under a tyrannical and arbitrary government, which disposes at will of the properties, the existence, and the liberties, of the unhappy Spaniards. Soldiers!—This government was about to destroy the nation, and ends by destroying itself. It was not possible any longer to endure its sway: on the one hand, violence and weakness; and on the other, only indignation and contempt were provoked; while, to render the nation happy, the government ought to inspire confidence, love, and respect. Soldiers!—Let us employ, for our welfare, and that of our countrymen, the arms which have secured the independence of the nation against the power of Buonaparte: the enterprise is easy and glorious. Does there exist a Spanish soldier who will oppose our views? No! In the very ranks of those whom the government may assemble, you will find brothers, who will join us; and if some base-born miscreants should dare to turn their arms against you, let them perish, as the satellites of tyranny should do, unworthy of the name of Spaniards. Soldiers!—I depend upon you: you are the worthy children of the country;

justify yourselves as such. Union and discipline! this is what I recommend to you. I shall have the satisfaction of recompensing those who may distinguish themselves; but if any one forgets his duty, I shall prove that authority has not been confided to me in vain, and that the energy of a government that seeks good, is always superior to that of despots. Soldiers!—Victory awaits our banners, and, in her train, the glory and rewards which the country will lavishly bestow.—ANTONIO QUIROGA, *General-in-chief of the National Army.*”

Although the greatest portion of the soldiery who were made acquainted with the designs of the patriots, were well disposed to their views, the population had hitherto taken no active part. The royal army was put under the command of Don Manuel Freyre, who was declared captain-general of Andalusia, and who, from his head-quarters at Seville, published a proclamation, warning the troops against any communication with the *rebels*. He succeeded, too, in throwing a body of troops into Cadiz by sea; and, at the same time, he directed the regiment of the Canaries, with a squadron of horse and a brigade of artillery, to occupy Port St. Mary: instead of proceeding on their destination, however, the whole detachment entered the Isle of Leon, and, joining the national army, added strength and spirit to the constitutional cause.

Thus reinforced, Quiroga resolved to attack the arsenal of the Caraccas. On the night of the 12th, a body of four hundred chosen men advanced, unperceived, to the walls of the place, and before measures could be taken to resist them, had made themselves masters of it. Here they found abundance of food and ammunition. A vessel of seventy-four guns, the St. Julian, which was laden with powder for the expedition, at the same time fell into their hands. Encouraged by this success, an attack was ventured upon the cortadura, but with no happier effect than attended a former assault. A body of constitutionalists in the town also made an effort to seize upon it from within; but the firmness of the garrison effectually disconcerted the attempt.

In the mean time, it was evident that Freyre did not

feel perfectly satisfied of the fidelity of the rest of the army: it was not until the 27th, that he transferred his head-quarters from Seville to Port St. Mary. The patriots, on their side, had availed themselves of the means afforded by the capture of the arsenal of the Caraccas, to strengthen their position in the island; but they already began to feel the embarrassment of their situation. They had now little hope of succeeding with Cadiz; their provisions were nearly exhausted; and there was reason to fear that, by continuing in their present state of inaction, the troops would gradually lose that ardour and impulse which had originally inspirited the enterprise. Under these circumstances, it was determined to send out a strong detachment, for the purpose of collecting forage, and trying the spirit and disposition of the neighbouring province. A body of about 1500 men, including forty horsemen, were led out of the island, on the 27th of January, under the command of Riego, the same day that Freyre arrived at Port St. Mary. On the next morning, they reached Vejer; here Riego passed three days, and published the Constitution: he then proceeded to Algeiras, which place they entered on the 1st of February, amid the gladdening acclamations of the inhabitants. This feeling, however, did not long sustain itself: the force of the patriotic band was too disproportionate to that to which they were opposed, not to excite the most reasonable mistrust of the event of their enterprise; and here, as in the other parts of the country which they traversed in their march, though they obtained some assistance from the inhabitants, in food and clothing, but very few ventured to join their ranks.

When intelligence of this excursion reached the royal camp, Freyre immediately despatched in pursuit a strong body of horse, under the command of Don Joseph O'Donnell, the brother of the celebrated general of that name, Count de Abisbal. Accordingly, when, in consequence of an order from Quiroga, Riego attempted to regain the Isle of Leon from Algeiras, he found all the communications in that direction effectually pre-occupied by the enemy, though he offered battle to a body of O'Donnell's cavalry; his

little army, as it advanced, commencing the war-song, which had now become familiar to every ear.*

* There is no country where the harmony of sweet sounds has dispensed more happiness, or produced more salutary effects in favour of liberty, than in the Peninsula. The following composition, translated from the original Spanish by Mr. Bowring, designated "*Riego's Hymn*," was sung throughout the country, and produced a talismanic influence on the whole population, while yet the infant struggle for freedom was uncertain as to its result.

"THE country we cherish
Hath summon'd us now;
To conquer or perish,
Our promise, our vow.

"In joy and in triumph,
Serene, but delighted,
Our voices united
Sing victory's lay:
The Cid was our father;
And proud gratulations
Proclaim from all nations,
'His children are they!'

"Unsheathe then your weapons;
For freedom and bravery
The hirelings of slavery
Shall scatter to nought:
Like dew on the mountains,
Which morning assembles,
Their armament trembles,
And flies at the thought.

! mid-day of glory!
Gave history's pages,
In records of ages,
A record so bright,
As when our Riego,
By liberty lighted,
His legions invited
To liberty's fight?

"O! crown them with laurels,
And wreaths bright and vernal,
And glory eternal,
Who first drew the sword!
They call'd on our country;
She heard them, she bless'd them,
And, weeping, caress'd them,
And rose at the word.

"She stood in her glory:
Her voice was like thunder;
Then tore she asunder
The fetters of shame:
Death had not a terror,
It could but unchain us;
Or victory gain us
Both freedom and fame.

"The fetters are broken;
The vile one who bears them
Shall feel, as he wears them,
They enter his soul:
We, Liberty's children,
His madness redeeming
March, victory beaming,
To Liberty's goal.

"The trumpet is sounding!
Shrink, slavery and folly:
Our conduct is holy,
Our conscience is pure.
Ye vassals of tyrants,
Ye tremble—ye tremble:
Our heroes assemble,
Our triumph is sure!"

San Miguel, who at this time (1823) occupies the office of minister for foreign affairs, in Spain, has drawn up and published a narrative of the gallantries performed by Riego's flying column, from which the following detail of its courage and sufferings is principally taken.—“Surrounded by the hostile troops of Ferdinand, the leaders of which still continued to stifle public opinion, and impose on the credulity of the soldiery, the position of Riego's column would have filled an ordinary leader with alarm; but he resolved to profit by his inability to join Quiroga, and carry his original design into effect. Having procured some additional supplies of money and horses, every effort was adopted to give an impulse to the patriotic feeling: a military banquet, at which the officers and privates mingled, was given to Riego's band by the inhabitants of Vejer, and was closed with a public ball, where all the beauty of the place appeared, encouraging the defenders of freedom to persevere in the glorious struggle. On the 12th of February, after three days passed in festivity and warlike preparations, the patriot general moved forward with a determination to reach Malaga, where the column arrived on the 18th, closely pursued, and often attacked, by the vanguard of O'Donnell. Notwithstanding the bravery and firmness displayed by Riego and his followers here, the influence of treason on the one hand, and the effect of resistance on the other, disappointed the patriots in realizing the hopes held out by those of the inhabitants who had expressed so much anxiety for their arrival. Perceiving that the fears of the people got the better of their patriotism, (for they had witnessed those impetuous charges of cavalry repelled by a portion of the column which had taken possession of the great square, without shewing a disposition to co-operate,) Riego had no alternative between suffering all the fruits of his gallantry to be lost at Malaga, and pushing on to another point. The latter was chosen; and, having effected their retreat in excellent order, the column entered Antequara on the 22d, still harassed by the enemy's cavalry. Though reduced by the causes, moral and physical, naturally attendant on such an enterprise, the general set out, on the following day, for Ronda. Here the troops were encoun-

tered by a force double their number; but, having charged, and driven them through the town, some rations were levied, upon which Riego halted for the night in the vicinity. Resuming their march on the 24th, the patriots successively visited Grazadema, Puerto Serrano, and Montellano, where another attack of cavalry was sustained, and as courageously repelled. During the time which elapsed between the column's march from Montellano till its arrival at Montilla on the 8th of March, it had scarcely an hour's repose; and, besides having to resist the frequent charges of the enemy, their march lay over almost inaccessible mountains without regular roads. From Montilla, where the column remained for some hours, Riego determined to gain the Sierra Morena; but there being no direct road to it without passing through Cordova, he marched towards that city at all hazards. This was, perhaps, the boldest step hitherto taken: there was a regiment of dismounted cavalry at Cordova; a considerable portion of this corps was posted on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, apparently to oppose their passage. The column having baffled the efforts of enemies so much more numerous, its present adversaries were treated with perfect indifference. The other troops stationed at Cordova remained in their quarters, unwilling to interfere in what was passing; when within a few yards of the bridge which separated them from the city, the column, now reduced to three hundred men, began the favourite hymn, which resounded through the ranks as if by one common impulse, and thus marched through the main street to a convent in the opposite suburb, followed by an immense concourse of the people. The whole population of Cordova came forth to witness this extraordinary scene, filling the streets and windows where the patriots had to march. A profound silence pervaded the multitude; and this singular and affecting sight is said to have drawn tears from every eye: though no violent marks of discontent were manifested, the silent sympathy of all ranks sufficiently indicated the state of public feeling. The column pursued its way towards the Sierra on the 8th, and, passing through Espier, Azuaga, Berlanga, and Villagarcia, reached Bienvenida at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th. Dimi-

nished to a still smaller number, worn out with fatigue, and surrounded by various detachments whose leaders sought their destruction, the situation of the patriots was too critical to admit of any doubt as to the only alternative which now remained. Forced by irresistible necessity to disperse, their separation was imbittered by the reflection that the object of their enterprise had not been fulfilled, and that if they succeeded in escaping from famine and disease, it might be to perish on the scaffold, or to pass the remainder of their days on a foreign soil."

San Miguel observes, in concluding his account of this memorable expedition, "Such was the fate of a column, worthy, by its patriotism and valour, of the most brilliant triumphs. Where so many concurrent circumstances combined against us, it was morally impossible for the result to be different: fanaticism on the part of an enemy always more than treble our number; dismay and timidity among the well-affected; the pusillanimity and weakness of those who abandoned us in the hour of danger; the violation of promises by others who had engaged in the cause; unheard-of labour and fatigue; and, above all, such rapid marches, night and day, through a mountainous country intersected by torrents and ravines, and plains overflown, must have disheartened the bravest troops, and counteracted the efforts of the most experienced. On the other hand, the losses sustained by the flying column redound more to its credit than the greatest victories. Its conduct was invariably analogous to the principles it proclaimed; honour and valour being the constant watch-words. Not a single citizen had reason to complain of its oppression: the laws of humanity were never violated towards any of the prisoners; those taken at Marbello, Antequera, Malaga, Moron, Montellano, and other places, were treated with the utmost consideration and delicacy. Finally, the flying column merited a better fate, and deserves to be held up to the imitation of others."

Although the flying column was dismembered, without being actually vanquished, (as Count Pecchio justly remarks,) the object for which this daring excursion was formed was in reality achieved; since, in prolonging the

insurrection for above six weeks, the people had time to awake from their stupor, while the troops stationed at other points of the Peninsula were thus inspired with that courage which eventually induced them to follow the same example shewn to them by this heroic band of patriots. Little did the shattered remains of Riego's faithful adherents imagine, when they separated at Bienvenida, that their constancy and perseverance had procured for their country the triumph of constitutional liberty.

In returning to the transactions of San Fernando, additional motives for applause are found in the perseverance and gallantry displayed there after the departure of Riego. Quiroga, whose troops did not now exceed 4000 men, continued to fortify his position by all the means in his power. The royalist army was posted in lines, entirely cutting off all communication between the Isle of Leon and the main land; but did not venture any direct attack beyond a cavalry skirmish with the out-posts of the patriots. It was evident, however, that if all continued quiet in the other provinces of the Peninsula, this system must in the end prove fatal to the attempted liberation.

The government-journals had hitherto preserved the profoundest silence on the subject of the events which had taken place in Andalusia. But, as might have been expected, the report of those occurrences was immediately spread throughout the country, with exaggerations that exceeded their real importance. Every thing, however, remained apparently tranquil until the middle of February, when a movement took place in Galicia, which soon communicated itself beyond the limits of that province. On the 20th of that month, the captain-general, Venegas, returned to Corunna, to resume the command of the province. On the same evening, a meeting took place, of certain of the officers of the garrison, with several leading persons of the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of concerting measures for proclaiming the Constitution. In pursuance of the plan adopted, on the next day, at noon, the cry of "Long live the nation!" was raised in the market-place, at the very moment when the captain-general's drawing-room was filled by the persons, civil and military,

who had come to felicitate him on his arrival in the capital of his government. Some officers, supported by the people, disarmed the guards at the government-house, and made their way to the drawing-room, upon which all the officers present drew their swords, and proclaimed aloud their adherence to the Constitution. Venegas immediately left the room; but he was followed by the colonel of artillery, Don Carlos Espinosa, and others, who represented to him the unanimity of the feeling entertained both by the troops and the citizens, and entreated him at once to put himself at the head of the new order of things, and to proclaim the Constitution. Venegas had been very popular in the province, and the patriots seem to have entertained some expectation that he would not be disinclined to take this step: he refused, however, and was consequently arrested, with some others of his staff, and the same night consigned, with every mark of respect and attention, to Fort St. Anthony. This was the only instance that occurred at Corunna, of resistance to the revolution: one feeling seemed to pervade all ranks and classes. Two thousand of the people formed themselves into a militia, and joined the garrison; and the national army, thus composed, requested Colonel Espinosa, who had taken the lead throughout the whole affair, to assume the command of the province. Espinosa, however, declined the honour, and recommended Colonel Acevedo as a fit person on whom it might be conferred. Acevedo was, accordingly, elected captain-general. A supreme junta, composed of the principal citizens and officers, was then constituted, and Don Pedro Agar, formerly a member of the cortes, was elected to the presidency. The populace broke open the prisons, and liberated some officers who were yet in confinement on account of the affair of Porlier. The widow of that unfortunate general, who still retained her mourning-weeds in memory of her husband, was particularly called upon by the people to share in the triumph of the day.

At Ferrol, on the 23d of February, a similar scene took place. The governor was imprisoned, the Constitution proclaimed, and a subordinate junta formed for the direction of affairs. At Santiago, the governor, Count de St. Roman,

was preparing to make some resistance to the progress of the insurrection; but, upon the approach of Acevedo with some troops from Corunna, he abandoned the town, and the Constitution was proclaimed there on the 25th. Almost at the same moment, the towns of Vigo and Pontavedra declared their adherence to the popular cause. The Count de St. Roman, however, contrived to collect a body of between 4000 and 5000 men, chiefly peasants, with which he endeavoured to make head against the insurgents; but the ascendancy of these last became daily more marked, and, in a short time, nearly the whole province acknowledged the supremacy of the constitutional junta of Corunna.

Galicia was not the only point which presented a disquieting prospect to the Spanish court. On the 25th of February, the celebrated Mina, after a six years' exile in France, re-appeared in Navarre, the scene of his former exploits, and, putting himself at the head of a small band of partisans, assumed the title of "General of the Constitutional Army of the North of Spain."

The alarm which the intelligence of these movements excited in the cabinet of Madrid may easily be conceived. It was difficult to counsel what step should be taken to arrest the progress of the insurrection. The single stay of all governments not founded in the affection of the people, is, of course, the soldiery; but here there were grounds to believe that this body was more enthusiastic in the constitutional cause than the people whom it was called upon to coerce. To send troops to Galicia or Navarre, would, it is probable, have been little else than to despatch reinforcements for the armies of Acevedo or Mina. Under these circumstances, something like an attempt was made to conciliate public opinion: a letter was published from the king to the Duke of San Fernando;—in this his majesty announced his intention that the council of state should be divided into seven sections, charged severally with the affairs of the state, of the church, of legislation, of finance, of the army, of the navy, and of commerce; and empowered to propose upon each of these heads the reforms which were judged necessary for the welfare of the kingdom. All corporations, tribunals, universities, and even individual

citizens, were, moreover, to be invited to communicate to the council of state any idea they might entertain, likely to tend to the promotion of the great objects proposed to its consideration. Whatever might have been the effect of this scheme, if openly proposed and honestly acted upon, twelve months before, it was now too late. The weakness of the tyranny that had oppressed them was betrayed to the people; and they were not to be diverted from taking advantage of the discovery.

Among the distinguished Spaniards of the present day, there is no one whose military career impresses us more strongly with the persuasion of his decision and ability, than Count de Abisbal. It has been before stated, that there were reasons to believe that he was originally at the head of the conspiracy which he subsequently crushed, at Cadiz, in the July of 1819. However little we may applaud the honesty of his conduct on that occasion, it is impossible not to admire the courage and decisiveness by which it was characterized. Neither his sagacity nor his resolution seemed to have abandoned him in the present crisis. He quickly saw the turn which affairs were about to take; that the fate of the absolute monarchy was evidently sealed; and, conscious of his wrong towards the other party, he felt the necessity of atoning for his misdeeds, by the performance of some good work, in the promotion of a cause, the eventual triumph of which he now anticipated as certain. One of his brothers, Don Alexander O'Donnell, commanded the regiment Imperial Alexander, of which one battalion was quartered at Ocana, and another at Santa Cruz. Through the medium of this officer, the count had opened communications with several other officers commanding in La Mancha; and a plan was determined upon between them for raising the standard of the Constitution in that province. The troops were to be revolutionized, and the communications between Castile and Andalusia intercepted; a junta was to be elected for the administration of the province, subordinate to the junta in Galicia; and, finally, a petition addressed to the king, beseeching him to yield to the wishes of his people, and at once convoke the cortes. On the 3d of March, the count left Madrid: he reached

Aranjuez the same evening, where he was joined by several of the king's body-guard, with whom he had had an understanding. Next day, he arrived at Ocana; where he assembled his brother's regiment in the great square, and, after a short harangue, prevailed upon them to express their devotion to the popular cause by shouts of "Long live the Constitution!" He then arrested the governor, and such of the authorities of the place as seemed disinclined to the change; and, on the 5th, proceeded to Temblique, and thence to Santa Cruz, Almagro, and Ciudad Real. The disposition of the people did not shew itself quite so uniformly in his favour as he expected: with the troops, however, he was perfectly successful; several battalions, and a considerable number of volunteers, joined his ranks, and he expected, in a short time, to effect a junction with the force which was then pursuing Riego, under the command of his brother Joseph.

The intelligence of this defection completed the consternation of the court. It was not possible to conceal it from the garrison and the people of the capital; and its effect upon both became hourly more visible. The accounts from all parts confirmed the mistrust which was already entertained of the good disposition of the soldiery. The king formed a permanent junta of state, at the head of which was placed the Infant Don Carlos; and it was supposed that he was at length about to realize the promise proclaimed in the decree of Valencia, in May 1814, of giving a constitution to the Spanish nation. But it was now no longer the time for half measures: on the 7th was published an official gazette extraordinary, declaring it to be the will of the king that the cortes should be immediately assembled, and announcing his majesty's readiness to adopt all such measures as should tend to the welfare of his loyal people: this annunciation was further made public by placards, which were posted in all quarters of the city. But the people saw in this concession only an avowal of weakness, and were the more emboldened to insist upon the whole extent of their rights. The streets and squares became thronged with a tumultuous populace, who tore down the royal placards with contempt, and demanded,

with loud cries, the Constitution of 1812. In the neighbourhood of the palace, the disposition of the assemblage seemed every hour to assume a character more menacing. From the language openly used, there was reason to fear that attempts would be made to violate the king's person; and, in fact, there is little doubt but that the populace was resolved to go all lengths in the exaction of their demands. Under these circumstances, the persons about the king represented to him that resistance was no longer possible. General Ballasteros, in particular, who had only just been recalled from his five years' exile at Valladolid, impressed upon his majesty the urgency of the crisis, and the necessity of anticipating the event by a prompt submission to the national will. Accordingly, late in the day, the general was commissioned to announce to the people, that the king accepted the Constitution; and, the same evening, the following circular was despatched to all the authorities of the city.—“The king, our lord, has been pleased to address to his secretaries of all the departments the following royal decree: ‘In order to avoid the delay which might arise from the uncertainties of my council, respecting the execution of my decree of yesterday for the immediate convocation of the cortes, and the will of the people being pronounced, I have decided to swear to the Constitution promulgated by the cortes in the year 1812; which you are now given to understand, and instantly make known. —*At the Palace, March 7th, 1820.*—I, THE KING.’”

The publication of this decree was hailed with enthusiasm by the people. The king repeatedly shewed himself on the balcony of the palace, with the book of the Constitution in his hand, and was saluted with the loudest acclamations of “Long live the king!” “Long live the Constitution!” A new municipal junta was immediately organized, including those members who had been dismissed from it in 1814. At the same time, likewise, a supreme junta was established, empowered to receive the king's oath, and to watch over the direction of public affairs until the assembling of the cortes: the members of this board were all persons known for their attachment to the new order of things. The Cardinal de Bourbon, who had been at the

head of the regency in 1814, was declared president, and General Ballasteros vice-president. On the same day, a general amnesty for all political offences was published, the prisons were opened; and a general liberation took place, of all persons confined for state offences.

Next day, the 9th, the tribunal of the Inquisition was formally suppressed, and all persons detained within its walls ordered to be discharged: those confined for religious offences were to be consigned to the bishops of their respective dioceses, to be dealt with according to law.

On the 10th, the king published a conciliatory proclamation to the nation, in which he renewed his engagements of fidelity to the new constitution, at the same time that he warned the people to beware of that exaltation of passion, which might lead them to those excesses that had too often disgraced the progress of political revolutions in other countries. Various other decrees were published, nearly at the same time, for the purpose of putting into play the various parts of the new constitutional machinery. The election of the alcade, and of the constitutional authorities, was ordered to take place immediately throughout the kingdom. Another royal instrument expressed the king's anxious desire that the Spanish nation might, from that day, enjoy the benefits of the Constitution; and declared, that all its enactments should have immediate and entire effect, particularly those relating to personal security and the liberty of the press: in furtherance whereof, the juntas of censorship, existing in 1814, were to be immediately re-established, and composed of the same individuals as at that period, until the meeting of the cortes. In consequence of this last decree, several journals, devoted to the cause of the revolution, immediately made their appearance.

I shall only mention the most important of the royal ordinances which followed. By a decree of the 14th, was prescribed the provisional re-establishment of all constitutional tribunals for the exercise of judicial power, conformably with the Constitution of 1812. By another, it was ordained, that all the inhabitants of the kingdom should take the constitutional oath, agreeably to the decree of

the cortes, March 1812. By another, that the same officers should preside over the election of deputies, as were concerned in the returns of 1814. The Duke of San Fernando resigned his secretaryship, and was appointed ambassador to Vienna.

The revolution was now complete; and its triumph was celebrated in the provinces with comparatively few symptoms of disunion or opposition. The violence of the populace shewed itself little otherwise than by breaking open the state prisons, or sacking the buildings of the Inquisition. At Valencia, however, the governor, Elio, was with difficulty preserved from their fury: the extreme violence and severity of his administration had excited the universal hatred of the people. He was conducted to the citadel under a strong escort, as the only means of saving his life from their exasperation.

The sole exception to the bloodless character which every where distinguished the progress of this great change, is to be found at Cadiz. When the news of the insurrection in Galicia and La Mancha found its way into that town, the hopes of the insurgent party were raised to the highest: the people, in spite of the orders, prohibiting under the severest penalties any numerous assemblage, collected in crowds on the great place, and demanded loudly the proclamation of the Constitution. General Freyre, who had just arrived from Port St. Mary, perceiving the state of the public mind on this subject, conceived there was no resource but in concession; he therefore engaged to proclaim the Constitution on the morrow, and the people, satisfied with this pledge, broke up without tumult, but with the liveliest demonstrations of gratulation and joy.

An officer was despatched by Freyre to Quiroga at San Fernando, with an invitation to him and his staff to be present at the approaching celebration. The patriotic commander and his friends, however, were not without suspicion that some treachery might be meditated; and it was determined that a deputation, composed of Galiano, Banos, and Aquero, should represent the national army at the approaching spectacle, while Quiroga remained at his post, to watch their common interests.

After a great part of the night being passed in festivity and rejoicing, the morning of the 10th had scarcely dawned, before Cadiz exhibited a scene of indescribable animation: a rich display of tapestry, or appropriate banners, in all the balconies of this beautiful city, indicated the sentiments of the owners; while groups of both sexes filled the streets and places of worship, congratulating each other on the arrival of that day which they had so long and ardently anticipated. When it was ascertained that the deputation from La Isla had set out, the town-gates were thrown open; upon which the people, giving way to the first generous impulse, rushed in thousands towards the cortadura.

The events of this dreadful day cannot be better described than in the language of the report made to Quiroga by the deputation, on their return to head-quarters; more especially as this document unites the importance of concurrent testimony to the simplicity of historical narration. The report is dated on the 15th, and proceeds as follows: "Charged by your excellency, on the invitation of Don Manuel Freyre, to repair to Cadiz, and make various arrangements relative to proclaiming the Constitution, we proceeded, accompanied by an officer, three orderlies, and a trumpet, to carry your wishes into effect. We had scarcely reached the Torre Gorda, when an immense concourse of people were seen coming from the cortadura, and pursuing their way to San Fernando. The air resounded with acclamations as we passed; nothing but expressions of affection and sympathy were heard: amongst others, they called us their liberators. Unwilling to change the plan agreed upon, of adhering to the forms of war, and advancing as a flag of truce, the trumpeter went forward to summon the cortadura: his flourish being answered by an assurance that we should be received as friends, we entered the first barrier, and found the crowd at every step: all seemed to await our arrival with impatience;—some threw their cloaks on the ground, to serve as carpets, while others came up to embrace us. Although so many demonstrations of esteem could not but be flattering, we should perhaps have been weary of them, if the love of our fellow-citizens could produce that effect. On reaching Cadiz, garlands of flowers were showered from the

windows; and nothing was heard but "Long live the Constitution, the national army, and its chiefs!" General Freyre received us politely, though with coldness: he expressed his wish that we should maintain our position in La Isla; alleging, as a pretext, that the entry of the troops might occasion disputes, if not bloodshed, with those of the garrison. One of the party having replied, that the soldiers of the national army was no less moderate than brave, Freyre rejoined, that he thought the men of his corps merited equal praise: this was evidently not the general's real opinion, from the anxiety he betrayed to see us return. We were about to conform to his wishes, when the report of musketry was suddenly heard, and we immediately after perceived numbers of both sexes running towards us, demanding, with loud cries, to be shielded from the soldiery, who were firing in every direction, and cutting down all before them. To this appeal, the general very coolly answered, 'Make yourselves easy, my children; there is no danger, don't be afraid.' Meanwhile, the tumult augmented, and we heard the reports nearer: as to the general, he left us, apparently with a view of putting an end to the disorder; but, so far from doing so, he authorized, in some degree, by his presence, the horrors which followed. Posterity will shudder at the recollection of what occurred on this fatal day, still more frightful than the 2d of May, 1808: it will judge a set of men unworthy of a noble profession, who could thus assassinate and pillage a defenceless people, associating the king's name with the extermination of his subjects! What will be said of chiefs who directed these iniquitous proceedings—men who, in applauding the executioners, reserved their censures for the victims? Finally, will not posterity execrate the memory of those who could invite their compatriots, under pretence of celebrating a solemn act, involving the happiness of millions, merely to make them witnesses of robbery and murder? When the above dreadful scene commenced, we resolved to return; and were encouraged to do so by Freyre. Two of the deputation ascended the roof of the house, followed by the adjutant, Sylva, who had come in our suite; and, passing over adjoining terraces, found an asylum not far from the residence of

the general. One of the party,* who attempted to escape through the front door, had to brave many of the assassins, whom he met at every corner: fortunately, they did not recognize him. Having, with the greatest difficulty, reached the house of Villavicencio, he met Freyre and Campana there: it was in vain that our companion claimed the rights due to his character of delegate from the national army; they replied, by stating, that no protection could be afforded by the laws, as these were not obeyed. Thus abandoned to his fate, he sought refuge with a friend, and did not rejoin us till eleven o'clock on the following day. When tranquillity was somewhat restored, we discovered the place of our retreat to the government of Cadiz, if such it could be called, and peremptorily demanded the treatment due to us as the bearers of a flag of truce. The only answer was a file of soldiers, with drawn swords, who seized and conducted us to the castle of San Sebastian; where each was thrown into a separate cell, deprived of communication, and otherwise treated with every species of indignity. We remained in this state of solitary confinement until the night of the 14th; when, owing to further intelligence from Madrid, our imprisonment was changed into simple detention, preparatory, as the keepers asserted, to our being exchanged for some of the officers arrested at Las Cabezas: this must have been a mere invention; as we were soon after embarked in a small boat, and landed on the beach near San Fernando. Such is the faithful detail of our sufferings: nor can we conclude without observing, that it is by comparing the conduct of the troops employed to act at Cadiz, with that of the army which some persons have designated as treasonable and rebellious, that the justice of our cause, and the nobleness of the means adopted to defend it, can alone be duly appreciated."

To the foregoing particulars, which have been authenticated by indisputable authority, I shall add a few others, vouched by the author of the 'Historical Review,' which serve to place the originators of the massacre of Cadiz in the odious light in which they ought to be contemplated.—

* Galiano.

"It appears," says our authority, "that the battalion of Guides, and *Lealtad*, or Ferdinand's own, made up of deserters, and galley-slaves liberated from prison, were the instruments employed on this occasion; and that, being liberally supplied with brandy, they remained shut up in their barracks, till the square of San Antonio was completely thronged, and the ceremony of proclaiming the political code about to commence. It was then that Campana issued his orders. In another instant, the work of slaughter began: rushing into the square at different points, neither sex nor age was spared; those who could not escape were butchered on the spot, nor did the foreign consuls escape without insult and violence. The number of victims, including killed and wounded, exceeded five hundred; and would have been much greater, had not the drunken state of the perpetrators prevented their taking a more regular aim. Not content with butchering old and young, women and children, the whole of the night, and part of the next day, were devoted to plunder: nor, with the exception of those who endeavoured to allay the tumult, was a person to be seen in the streets of Cadiz; which resembled a besieged city, for some days after. Owing to the measures of precaution adopted by Freyre and his associates, the murderers were transferred to Xerez in the night, and replaced by the patriotic regiment of Valençay, thus escaping the fury of the populace.

"To ascertain what share Freyre and Campana had in this sanguinary proceeding, it will be merely necessary to read the following order of the day, issued immediately after the event, and some extracts from the communications of Freyre to the minister at war.

"General Order.

"Cadiz, March 11th, 1820.

"Long live the king! Long live religion! Honour to the brave and loyal troops forming the garrison of Cadiz! Their fidelity, and the decided manner in which the soldiers conducted themselves yesterday, merits the gratitude of all the king's subjects, and that of the general who has the honour to command them.

"It is in the name of his majesty, therefore, that I

return the officers and other individuals of the garrison my warmest thanks for their brilliant military conduct.

(Signed) " ' CAMPANA.' "

"The correspondence of Freyre appeared in the Madrid official gazette, on the 21st of March: his first letter will be a sufficient specimen of the whole.—

" ' MOST EXCELLENT SIR ! "

" ' The garrison of Cadiz, ever faithful to the king our master, has, to my great satisfaction, just given the most public and affectionate proof of the submission, fidelity, and love, it entertains for his august and royal person; drowning, with its general cry of "Long live the king!" the effervescence of the people, who, collecting and mutinying yesterday in the square of San Antonio, cried, "Long live the Constitution!" In this state of things, I succeeded, by traversing the streets and squares, in restraining those loyal troops, who, enraged with the rioters, fired in all directions, and on every group they saw, repeating nothing but the joyful cry of "Live the king!" At the present hour, half-past three, tranquillity is in some degree restored; but I will still continue to make every exertion to re-establish order and discipline.

" ' With this courier, I send instructions to Seville, in order that it may follow the noble and just example set here; having already despatched officers in various directions, to give it publicity. Two of my aids-de-camp have gone to the army for the same purpose.

" ' Although I have not received answers to the letters and orders which I despatched, I do not like to lose any time, in depriving his majesty of such pleasing and satisfactory intelligence; but when tranquillity is effectually restored, I will transmit all the details to your excellency.

" ' Your excellency will be pleased to make these circumstances known to his majesty, assuring him of the fidelity of the troops, and that we only aspire to defend his rights, and secure tranquillity and order. God preserve your excellency many years !

(Signed) " ' MANUEL FREYRE.

" ' Head-quarters, Madrid, March 11th, 1820.' "

Of the baseness of Campana and Freyre, two opinions cannot be entertained by impartial men; and although Ferdinand's adhesion to the Constitution had been communicated to them, yet there is great reason to believe they received private instructions to act in the way they did, if they could engage their troops in the tragedy. This opinion is strengthened from the well-ascertained facts, that Freyre and his second in command were permitted to remain at large for a considerable time, without being called to an account, and that not one of the letters transmitted from the court contained the slightest disapproval of the murderous proceedings. If this circumstance proves the criminal supineness or guilty participation of the court, it still more strongly illustrates the moderation and forbearance of the patriots, who, under the strongest excitement to retaliative vengeance, abstained from personal violence against the obnoxious individuals. The irritation, however, which naturally pervaded the inhabitants of Cadiz, rendered their removal from authority of absolute necessity; and on the 17th of the month, Freyre was replaced by General O'Donoju, while Campana and Rodriguez, the king's lieutenants, were succeeded by Don Valdes and Francisco de Jauregui—men in whom the people could place the utmost confidence.

The new captain-general gave immediate evidence that he wished to make all the reparation in his power to the outraged patriots and inhabitants of Cadiz, by announcing his intention that the ceremony of proclaiming the Constitution should take place in a way more becoming the importance of the subject; and appointed the 20th as the day for the celebration. On the morning of that day, the national army, led by Quiroga, Riego, and his staff, made its triumphal entry into the city; and, at noon, the ceremony was performed in their presence—the most ardent enthusiasm and the most perfect unanimity prevailing both among the soldiers and citizens. After the civil and military authorities were sworn, they proceeded to the cathedral, followed by the whole population. Here *Te Deum* was sung, and a solemn thanksgiving offered up to Almighty God, for the consummation of their hopes and wishes. Previous to this joyful occurrence, the captain-general had

arrested Freyre and his coadjutors, and had also adopted the precaution of ordering that no person should appear armed within the walls of Cadiz during the ceremony.

CHAPTER VIII.

Patriotic Proclamation of Ferdinand—General Rejoicings at Madrid—Another Effort made to recover the South American Provinces—Conduct of the European Courts—Letter of the King of England to Ferdinand—Hostile Note of the Russian Ministry—The Russian Circular—Preparations for assembling the Cortes—Approach to the Hall—Description of the Building, and Mode of Debate—Arrival of the King and Queen in the Hall—Enthusiasm of the Assembly—His Majesty swears to the Constitution—Speech of the President to the King—His Majesty's Reply—The King and Royal Family retire from the Cortes, amidst the congratulatory Acclamations of the Populace.

THE patriots having overcome all the obstacles which interposed between the great object at which they aimed, by the establishment of their favourite code, and ministers being appointed who were known to feel an interest in its consolidation, every proper measure was adopted to discourage the attempts of the Serviles to perpetuate resistance, and to inspire the nation with confidence in the new order of things. Decrees had already been promulgated for abolishing the Inquisition, and regulating the liberty of the press. Two proclamations were also published: the first, bearing the sign-manual, explained the king's reasons for adopting the fatal system of 1814, on the plea that it was recommended to him as the most popular!—repeating the fact of his own adhesion, his subjects were congratulated on the event. This address concludes with the following remarkable sentence: "Let us march frankly, and myself the first, in the constitutional path, by shewing an example of wisdom, order, and moderation, in a crisis which has been accomplished with so many tears and sorrows in other countries: let us make the Spanish name revered, at the same time that we lay the foundation for ages of happiness and glory." The proclamation of the provisional govern-

ment contained equally good advice, and not less applicable to other nations than to Spain: "The establishment of a new system on the ruins of that which has fallen," says the junta, "is the most arduous and difficult task imaginable, requiring all the resources of the human mind; one, in fact, which brings every social virtue into action. The history of former revolutions, and especially that of France, ought to make you cautious, and temper your impatience; since it tells you, that those changes which precipitation and imprudence seek to bring about in a day, may be mourned for ages; and, on the contrary, that the steady and tranquil formation of new institutions secures liberty, without producing ruin and desolation. The results in one may be compared to the sudden inundation of an overwhelming torrent, which devastates all before it; while, in the other, it is like the majestic and beneficent swelling of the Nile, nourishing and enriching the soil, but destroying nothing."

The transition from a state of cruelty and oppression among the people to the reign of law and moderation, was strikingly observable at Madrid, and is described by a writer of eminence as being quite talismanic. "That intercourse," says he, "which had been so long checked by the united efforts of despotism and religious restraint, once removed, society resumed its natural tone: instead of the dead silence which had hitherto pervaded the streets, nothing was seen but cheerful faces, and groups at every corner, busied in discussing passing events, or congratulating each other on the return of liberty. Not a day passed without the celebration of some circumstance connected with their emancipation: serenades and concerts enlivened the streets at night; while the theatres were thronged, to witness productions which either retraced the past glories of Spain, or portrayed its present happiness. There was but one solitary class which appeared dull in the midst of this gratifying scene. Though the liberal portion of the priesthood entered freely into the sentiments of the people, stimulating them to espouse the cause of freedom with becoming zeal, others found only a source of dejection in the general joy. It would have been well, had this discontent at seeing others happy been confined to the solitude of the cloisters;

but, taking a wider range, it was vented in an attempt to get up a conspiracy. As usual, excessive piety, and a conviction that the change would bring down the vengeance of heaven, was the pretext for tampering with the soldiery, some of whom were even bribed to aid in the projected treason. Denounced by the very men they sought to corrupt, an inquiry was instituted to punish the aggressors; but, fortunately for these, though proved to be guilty, the more important concerns of government, no less than its determination to follow the example of forbearance shewn by the people, caused the names of the reverend fathers, and their follies, to be forgotten."

Leaving, for a short time, the affairs of the Peninsula, it may not be amiss shortly to advert to some circumstances connected with Spain, in reference to her external relations. South America had long been lost to the mother country, so far, at least, as regarded pecuniary assistance or political strength. The cortes and regency of 1810, though they had nominally granted a portion of freedom to the provinces, had yet acted with such a severe and offensive policy towards them, as had excited the strongest disaffection; and the hostile proceedings of Ferdinand's government had confirmed them in their determination to shake off the yoke of subjection to Spain. From the first appearance of resistance to the parent state, the Spanish government had shewn an impotence to bring them to subjection, in as prominent a degree as it had manifested an unwillingness to conciliate their attachment by measures of reasonable concession. As soon as the constitutional government was re-established, another effort was made for prevailing on the independent states of South America to recognize the royal authority, and send deputies to the approaching cortes, which had been convoked at Madrid for the 9th of July. The proclamation on this subject, addressed to the inhabitants of the New World, appeared in May; but this state-paper deserves to be considered rather as expressing the wishes of a party, than a specimen of good reasoning or sound logic.

The change in the Spanish government was notified by the cabinet of Madrid to the European powers, in letters addressed under the king's signature. Whether all the

courts of Europe returned official answers to these communications, does not appear: those of England and Russia were the only ones which were made public; and they are worthy of publicity, not only as exhibiting the wisdom, justice, and moderation, of the British cabinet, as contrasted with that of St. Petersburg, but as developing the ungenerous principles adopted by the latter towards Spanish regeneration, which have since been acted upon in the invasion of Spain by France and the Holy Alliance.

The King of England's Answer to the Letter in which his Catholic Majesty notified his Acceptance of the Constitution of 1812.

“SIR, MY BROTHER,

“I have read the letter which your majesty has addressed to me, for the purpose of notifying to me, that, in pursuance of the wishes manifested by your people, you had thought proper to acknowledge, and swear to, the political constitution promulgated at Cadiz in the year 1812. I receive this communication of your majesty as a testimony of your friendship; and I pray your majesty to be assured of the sincere interest I feel, on all occasions, in the well-being and prosperity of the Spanish nation, as well as in the stability and honour of your crown. I seize this occasion to renew to your majesty the assurances of the real esteem and perfect friendship with which I am,

“SIR, MY BROTHER,

“Your Majesty's good Brother,

“GEORGE R.

“At Carlton Palace, April 21, 1820.”

Note of the Imperial Russian Ministry to the resident Spanish Minister at St. Petersburg.

“Petersburgh, April 20th, (May 2d.)

“The note which the Chevalier de Zea de Bermudez addressed to the ministry of Russia, under the date of the 19th of April, has been laid before the Emperor.

“Constantly animated with the desire of seeing the prosperity of the state and the glory of the sovereign maintaining themselves, and flourishing together, in Spain, his majesty

the Emperor could not, without profound affliction, learn the events which have occasioned the official note of the Chevalier Zea.

“Even though those events should be considered only as the deplorable consequences of the errors which, since the year 1814, seem to have présaged a catastrophe for the Peninsula, still nothing can justify the aggressions which deliver up the destinies of the country to a violent crisis. Too often have similar disorders announced days of sorrow for empires.

“The future for Spain appears again under a sombrous and disturbed aspect. Well-founded disquietude must be awakened throughout all Europe: but the more serious these circumstances are, and the more they are capable of becoming fatal to that general tranquillity of which the world has scarcely tasted the first-fruits, the less does it belong to the powers guaranteeing that universal benefit, to pronounce separately, with precipitation, and according to limited or exclusive views, a definitive judgment on the transactions which have marked the commencement of the month of March in Spain.

“Not doubting but that the cabinet of Madrid has addressed similar communications to all the allied courts, his imperial majesty readily believes that all Europe is about to speak, in one unanimous voice, to the Spanish government the language of truth, consequently the language of a friendship equally frank and well-intentioned.

“Meanwhile, the Russian ministry cannot dispense with adding some considerations on the anterior facts to which the Chevalier Zea de Bermudez has referred in his note. Like him, the imperial cabinet will invoke the testimony of those facts; and, in citing them, will make known to him the principles which the Emperor proposes to follow in his relations with his most Christian majesty.

“In shaking off the foreign yoke which the French revolution had imposed, Spain acquired indelible titles to the esteem and gratitude of all European powers.

“Russia paid her the tribute of these sentiments in the treaty of the 8th (20th) of July, 1812.

“Since the general pacification, Russia has, in concert

with her allies, given more than one proof of the interest she takes in Spain. The correspondence which has taken place between the different courts of Europe, attests the wish which the Emperor has always formed, that the authority of the king might be consolidated, in both hemispheres, through the medium of pure and generous principles, and with the support of vigorous institutions, rendered still more vigorous by the regular mode of their establishment. Institutions which emanate from thrones are conservatory; but if they spring up amidst troubles, they only engender a new chaos. In declaring his conviction on this point, the Emperor only speaks according to the lessons of experience. If we look back on the past, great examples present themselves for the meditation of nations and sovereigns.

“His majesty persists in his opinion; his wishes are not changed: of that he here gives the most formal assurance.

“It now belongs to the government of the Peninsula, to judge whether institutions imposed by one of those violent acts—the fatal patrimony of the revolution against which Spain had struggled with so much honour—can realize the benefits which both worlds expect from the wisdom of his most Catholic majesty, and the patriotism of his councils.

“The path by which Spain shall choose to seek this important object, the measures by which she shall endeavour to destroy the impression produced in Europe by the event of the month of March, must determine the nature of the relations which his imperial majesty will preserve with the Spanish government, and the confidence which he would always wish to testify towards it.”

Circular, addressed with the above Note to all the Ministers of Russia at foreign Courts, on the Subject of the Affairs of Spain.

“The Chevalier Zea de Bermudez has presented to the imperial cabinet the annexed note, relative to the events which have just taken place in the Peninsula, and of which we were already informed by the despatches that were forwarded to us by our agents at foreign courts.

“M. de Zea, in this document, confines himself to

informing us, that the Constitution promulgated by the cortes in the year 1812 has been accepted by the king, and expresses a desire to know how the Emperor has viewed this change of the government. If the distance which separates us from Spain, and from the states which are best enabled to weigh maturely the nature of the disasters with which she is menaced, be considered, it will be readily acknowledged, that the position of the imperial ministry, with regard to the representative of the Spanish nation, was difficult and delicate.

“The revolution of the Peninsula fixes the attention of the two hemispheres: the interests which it is about to decide are the interests of the universe; and if ever the Emperor wished that the opinions of his allies might conduce to regulate his own, it certainly was at the moment when the note of the Chevalier de Zea imposed upon his imperial majesty the obligation of pronouncing upon an event which involves, perhaps, the future destinies of all civilized nations. This obligation, however, existed; for, in these days, every subject of doubt becomes an instrument of malevolence.

“The necessity of replying to M. de Zea was, therefore, evident: but, in this important conjuncture, it appeared natural, that, previous to pronouncing an opinion, the Emperor should consider the object which the allied powers proposed to themselves in their relations with Spain; that he should consult the views which they had expressed to that same power; and that he should take, as a guide for his own, the principles of European policy. This is what his imperial majesty was bound to do; this is what he has done.

“Since the year 1812, more than one diplomatic document attests the general solicitude which the several courts of Europe have constantly manifested in behalf of Spain. They applauded the noble perseverance with which her intrepid people resisted a foreign yoke. They rendered homage to their wisdom, when they rallied round a constitutional throne;—the dearest interests of their country, the interests of her independence. Finally, from the period when Providence restored Ferdinand the Seventh to his people, they never failed to acknowledge, that solid

institutions could alone secure on its basis the ancient Spanish monarchy.

"The allied sovereigns did more. In the course of long conferences, relative to the differences with Rio de la Plata, and to the pacification of the colonies, they let it be sufficiently understood, that these institutions would cease to be a means of peace and happiness, if, instead of being granted by kindness as a voluntary concession, they should be adopted by weakness as a last resource of salvation.

"Let us investigate, on the other hand, the great transactions which established the European alliance.

"What is the object of the engagements that were renewed on the 3d (15th) of November, 1818?

"The allied monarchs had just then obliterated the last traces of the revolution in France; but that revolution seemed ready to produce new calamities.

"The obligation of the monarchs was, therefore, and their design was, to prevent the same storm bursting from the same horizon a third time to desolate Europe.

"Nevertheless, as if the alarms which were then excited by the state of France, and which it still excites, were not sufficient—as if governments and nations entertained but slight doubts with respect to its future condition—it was necessary that the genius of evil should select a new theatre, and that Spain, in her turn, should be offered up as a fearful sacrifice. Revolution has therefore changed its ground, but the duties of monarchs cannot have changed their nature; and the power of the insurrection is neither less formidable, nor less dangerous, than it would have been in France.

"In unison, therefore, with his allies, his majesty cannot but desire to see granted to the Peninsula, as to its transmarine provinces, a government which he considers as the only one that can yet justify some hope, in this age of calamities. But in virtue of his engagements of the 3d (15th) of November 1818, his majesty is bound to mark, with the most forcible reprobation, the revolutionary measures set in action to give new institutions to Spain. Such is the two-fold idea which is found developed in the annexed answer which the cabinet of Russia has made to the Chevalier

de Zea, by order of his imperial majesty. The Emperor does not doubt that his august allies will approve its contents; and perhaps they have already addressed similar sentiments to the court of Madrid. The same wishes may, in fact, have inspired the same language; and convinced, like his majesty, that crime must always yield pernicious fruit, they have, doubtless, deplored, as he has, the outrage which has recently tarnished the annals of Spain. We repeat it: this outrage is deplorable. It is deplorable for the Peninsula; it is deplorable for Europe; and the Spanish nation now owes the example of an expiatory deed to the people of the two hemispheres. Till this be done, the unhappy object of their disquietude can only make them fear the contagion of her calamities. Nevertheless, amidst all these elements of disaster, and when so many motives combine to afflict the real friends of the welfare of nations, may a better future still be looked for! Is there any wise and redeeming measure, whose effect may be to reconcile Spain with herself, as well as with the other powers of Europe?

"We dare not affirm it: for experience has taught us to consider almost always as an illusion, the hope of a happy event. But, if we might trust the calculations which personal interest would seem to indicate, if it were permitted to presume that the cortes would consult the interest of their own preservation, it might be believed that they would hasten to extirpate, by a solemn measure, all that is culpable in the circumstances which accompanied the change of the administration in Spain. The interests of the cortes are here identified with the interests of Europe. The misled soldiery who protected, may to-morrow assail, them: and their first duty towards their monarch, towards their country, and themselves, seems to be, to prove that they will never consent to legalize insurrection. These are hopes which would not appear to be without some foundation. The Emperor, however, is far from cherishing them; and if he admitted the possibility of a result so useful, he would make it depend upon the unanimity which might manifest itself in the opinion of the principal powers of Europe, as to the act by which the representatives of the

Spanish people ought to signalize the opening of their deliberations. This unanimity, always so powerful when it takes the character of an irrevocable deed, will perhaps carry conviction to the minds of the most eminent members of his Catholic majesty; and the allied courts would seem to have an easy means of impressing upon their language such an imposing uniformity.

“Their ministers in France have hitherto treated, in their name, with a plenipotentiary of the court of Madrid. Can they not now present to him, in common, observations, the summary of which follows, and which would recall to the Spanish government the conduct, as well as the political principles, of the allied monarchs?

“‘The monarchs,’ would say the five ministers, ‘have never ceased to entertain wishes for the prosperity of Spain. They will always entertain them. They have desired, that in Europe, as in America, institutions conformable to the progress of civilization, and to the wants of the age, might procure to all Spaniards long years of peace and happiness. They desire the same at this moment. They have wished that all these institutions should become a real blessing, by the legal manner in which they should be introduced. They now wish the same. This last consideration will convey to the ministers of his Catholic majesty, with what sentiments of affliction and grief they have learned the events of the 8th of March, and those which preceded it. According to their opinion, the salvation of Spain, as well as the welfare of Europe, will require that this crime should be disavowed, this stain effaced, this bad example exterminated. The honour of such a reparation appears to depend upon the cortes. Let them deplore, and forcibly reprobate, the means employed to establish a new mode of government in their country; and, in consolidating an administration wisely constitutional, let them adopt the most rigorous laws against sedition and revolt. Then, and only then, the allied cabinets will be able to maintain friendly and amicable relations with Spain.’

“These observations, urged in common by the representatives of the five courts, would, thenceforth, demonstrate to the Spanish ministry the conduct which the allied govern-

ments would observe, in case the consequences of the 8th of March should perpetuate in Spain trouble and anarchy. If these salutary counsels be listened to, if the cortes offer to their king, in the name of the nation, a pledge of obedience, if they succeed in establishing upon durable bases the tranquillity of Spain, and the peace of Southern America, the revolution will have been defeated at the very moment when it thought to obtain a triumph.

"If, on the contrary, alarms, perhaps too reasonable, be realized, at least the five courts will have discharged a sacred duty; at least, a new occurrence will have developed the principles, indicated the object, and displayed the scope, of the European alliance.

"The Emperor awaits the answer of the courts of Vienna, London, Berlin, and Paris, to the communications which his ministers have addressed to them on the subject. He informs them, that the present memorial is the instruction which he has caused to be despatched to all his ministers, on the subject of the affairs of Spain."

The unfriendly sentiments contained in these state-papers of the Russian cabinet, in which subsequent events render it evident that France, Austria, and Prussia, participated, remained unnoticed by the Spanish government. With silent dignity the ministers of Ferdinand proceeded in consolidating the newly-acquired liberties of the people. The decree for convoking the cortes, published on the day of the king's adhesion, was followed by preparations for the election of representatives, who were chosen soon after. Most of the members had reached Madrid by the end of June; and the most intense interest was excited in the public mind by their approaching assemblage.

It has already been observed, that the 9th of July was the day appointed for the opening of the cortes, a ceremony deeply impressive and august; and I am not aware that more ample justice can be done to its description, than by adopting the recital of an eye-witness present on the occasion.—

"The evening of the 8th," says he, "was given up to that hilarity to which the people of Spain surrender them-

selves on all national festivals; but, from the interests at stake, their gaiety was not unmixed with apprehensions, lest some untoward accident, or evil design, should intervene, to obstruct the completion of their hopes. Never did I witness the contending passions of joy and anxiety so strongly manifested as on this occasion: all seemed to regard the ceremony of the following day as one upon which their future happiness depended. I was exceedingly gratified by the eagerness universally shewn on this subject; and could hardly believe myself among a people who had just emerged from so many centuries of oppression.

“The morning of the 9th was cloudless, and suited to the occasion: it was ushered in by the ringing of bells; and at four o’clock, all the churches of Madrid were filled. The streets through which the procession was to pass were swept and watered; flags, tapestries, and silk draperies, fringed with gold or silver trimmings, ornamented the houses on each side. The street leading to the cortes was strewn with branches of olive, myrtle, and flowers of various hues. The whole population of Madrid, and not less than twenty thousand visitors who came from the provinces to witness the scene, were in full activity by six o’clock, when the space before the hall of the cortes became crowded to excess. Before the doors leading to the galleries appropriated to the public, were seen hundreds of well-dressed individuals, and among them many officers of rank, who had taken their station there long before day-light. When I reached the spot, they were all seated, and exchanging those repartees usual on such occasions. As the crowd increased, they found it necessary to rise: what with the effects of an ardent sun, and the close contact of so many people, several were obliged to withdraw, and give place to their neighbours, who were less susceptible of this suffocating position. It was thus that I contrived to form a part of the impenetrable mass; and I had the additional good fortune of being literally carried up the first flight of steps without making a single exertion of my own. It is needless to say, that the two galleries, though capable of containing fifteen hundred persons, were filled, to overflowing, in a few seconds. As the doors were opened at

eight o'clock, I had an opportunity of surveying the interior arrangements of the hall, before any of the deputies arrived.*

* "The hall of the cortes is thus described, as it appeared in the year 1820. It is of an oval form, and decorated with elegant simplicity. As if every thing connected with the then state of Spain was destined to form a striking contrast with its former condition, this edifice was once a church, but fitted up for the cortes on their removal from Cadiz to the capital in 1814. It is within a few hundred yards of the Palace Royal, and, though an irregular structure, seems peculiarly well adapted for the reception of a popular assembly. The front is surmounted by a cross, at the base of which there is a group composed of three figures: Hope, supported by the symbol of Christianity, points to Spain, also represented under a female form, at whose feet is seen a torch, the emblem of paternal affection; underneath is a lion grappling a globe, on which both hemispheres are traced; and about the centre of the façade, there is a large marble slab, with the following inscription in gilt letters: 'THE POWER OF ENACTING LAWS IS VESTED IN THE CORTES, WITH THE KING.' A niche on each side contains statues of Patriotism and Liberty. The hall is one hundred and fifty feet long, by sixty in breadth. On entering the great door, there is a platform, extending twenty feet, and of a rectangular shape: here a barrier is formed, by two bronze lions, couched on pedestals, and holding a massive gilded bar in their mouths, to be drawn aside only when the sovereign appears. The deputies enter by four small doors placed on the sides. On a second platform, at the upper extremity, more elevated than the first, a richly embroidered crimson velvet drapery, lined with ermine, and sustained by cariatides, overhangs a throne, or chair of state; opposite to this, and directly over the entrance, is the following inscription: 'THE NATION IS ESSENTIALLY SOVEREIGN; CONSEQUENTLY, IT POSSESSES THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF MAKING THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS.' A treble range of benches, covered with red damask, accommodate the members: there is a table and chairs for the president and secretaries, below the throne. Two rostrums, in the centre and nearly level with the floor, serve for those who address the chair. Besides the statues of Wisdom and Genius, which occupy niches to the right and left of the throne, there are several square slabs containing bas-reliefs, on which some memorable events, connected with the late war, are sculptured. Others bear the names of Daoiz, Alvarez, and Valende, celebrated martyrs to the cause of Spanish freedom; these are in letters of gold. Four recesses, at equal distances, command a full view of the hall and galleries: three are appropriated to the reception of the royal family, foreign ambassadors, grantees, and other distinguished visitors: the last is exclusively opened for the reporters to the public press. Four niches on each side are occupied by statues representing the cardinal virtues. Six chandeliers of cut glass are suspended from the ceiling; and the hall is well lighted

“The arrival of the president, attended by most of the deputies, about half-past eight, having called my attention away from the embellishments of the hall, I prepared myself for the enjoyment of a sight still more interesting. His majesty, preceded by the queen and the other members of

from semi-circular windows above the frieze by which it is surrounded. The galleries are spacious and convenient: beadles are in attendance, to preserve decorum; and no money is exacted for admission. Struck by the superior execution of the statues, and other sculptured ornaments, no less than the taste displayed in the minor arrangements of the building, I was most agreeably surprised to find, on inquiry, that none but native artists had been employed. These seemed to have vied with each other in rendering the hall worthy of the object for which it is designed; and, from subsequent information, I am led to believe, that they were actuated more by a desire to shew what Spain could produce in this way, than by any view to pecuniary profit. They are entitled to great praise for the manner in which the task has been performed; and it is gratifying to bestow it where the object is so closely connected with the interests of humanity. The deputies have no costume; every member dresses as may be most agreeable to himself. It appears to me that this practice represents the people with more precision, since their dress varies to infinity. Each orator speaks from his place, and always extemporally: none but those who have long written speeches to make ascend the tribune, and this seldom occurs, so that the debates are much more rapid and animated than in other countries. The speakers never attempt to make any display of their erudition; they never play upon words, nor indulge in witty sallies; above all, you hear no personalities, or illiberal allusions, in the Spanish cortes. Wo to the nation, if this mutual respect was not shewn: the extreme irritability of men, in a climate like that of Spain, would otherwise produce scenes much more frightful than those which took place in the diet of Poland. The votes of the cortes are given nominatively, each deputy pronouncing the word ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ No wonder that Napoleon should have considered the ‘no’ of the Portuguese minister at Bayonne sublime. That of the Spaniards is quite as tragic and impressive as the ‘no’ of Bayonne. The sonorous tone with which this monosyllable is pronounced, indicates that it proceeds from the heart, and is irrevocable. It should also be remarked, that the verb of negation is more analogous to the Spanish character than that of affirmation. In this country, the former more frequently implies the *non fare* of the Italians; and this *non fare* is infinitely more energetic in Spain, than the *le fare* with us. The tone of declamation, and the gesture observed by the members, does not vary in the smallest degree: at the close of every period, there is a motion with the fingers of the right hand, which the orator holds up so as to resemble the sign of a cross. I could scarcely refrain from laughing, when I saw General Quiroga gesticulate like the Pope.”

the royal family, in state-carriages, left the palace a little before nine o'clock, amidst the firing of cannon, and the enthusiastic cries of the people, and to the sound of patriotic airs. The whole of the body-guard, composed of noblemen or their sons, rode before, and a regiment of cavalry brought up the rear. When the arrival of the first carriage was announced, the deputation appointed to receive her majesty went out, and conducted her to the balcony. She was splendidly attired, and came in supported by the two princesses, the wives of Don Carlos and of Don Francisco de Paolo. Advancing to the front, they bowed to the deputies and those in the galleries, who received them with reiterated plaudits. A conviction, on the part of the spectators, that those lovely women exulted in the emancipation of their adopted country, ensured a most cordial reception; nor, judging from their personal charms, and the way in which they appeared to enjoy the scene, would it require any great effort of imagination to conceive, that the Graces had now descended to preside at the consecration of human liberty!

“When fresh salutes of artillery, and still louder shouts, announced the arrival of the king, another and more numerous deputation went forth; and, in about five minutes, Ferdinand, attended by the infantes, his ministers, and a long train of grandees attached to the household, entered the hall; upon which, the deputies rose, and ranged themselves on each side: a dead silence followed the announcement of his majesty's approach to the great door; but no sooner had he passed the gilded bar, than a tumultuous burst of joy resounded through the hall, and applauses, mingled with benedictions on the head of the ‘Constitutional King,’ continued for a considerable time after he reached the throne. He must, indeed, have been an insensible being, who could have witnessed such a scene unmoved: although incapable of describing them, I shall never forget my own feelings on this occasion; and if I had reason to think highly of the Spanish character before, such a display of virtuous enthusiasm was not likely to diminish my admiration.

“Ferdinand was dressed in a blue coat, embroidered with gold, crimson velvet waistcoat and smallclothes, white silk stockings, gold buckles in his shoes, and a cocked hat, which

he carried in his hand: he wore a small sword, and was decorated with several orders. Previous to sitting down, his majesty testified his satisfaction by frequent bows to the deputies, and the spectators in the galleries. When he was seated, the auditory became silent in an instant; after which the ceremony proceeded.

“When the king’s brothers, Don Carlos and Don Francisco, the ministers, and the other attendants, took their places on each side the throne, the president and secretaries advanced towards his majesty. On approaching sufficiently near to administer the oath, they held a copy of the Constitution before him; placing one hand on the Holy Evangelists, presented by the presidents, and holding up the other, Ferdinand read the prescribed formula: upon which a second manifestation of public feeling took place; when Don Joseph Espiga, archbishop elect of Seville, as president of the cortes, addressing himself to the king, delivered the following speech.—

“‘The cortes, at a less enlightened period, but of great and sublime virtues, preserved the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the glory and splendour of the throne, and the national prosperity; but that wise institution which united the king and the nation by the great and noble sentiments of affection and loyalty, gradually declined, fell at last into oblivion, and the nation became the theatre of ambition, and the king an instrument of bad passions. But the day of your majesty’s birth was the aurora of the restoration of Spain; and more than twenty millions of inhabitants viewed in their young prince the worthy successor of St. Ferdinand. They were congratulating themselves with these flattering hopes, when, at the same time that the sacrilegious project of extinguishing your sacred rights was conceived in the bosom of the nation, a vile impostor perfidiously introduced his hostile legions, and wrested from the arms of the faithful Spaniards their beloved monarch, at the very moment when he had just been placed on the throne of his glorious progenitors. The Spanish lion was then roused, and a general and uniform cry gave spirit and vigour to the valorous sons of Pelayo; and while the brave warriors advanced with their breasts of bronze, and

expelled the tyrant's hosts from their native land, the fathers of the country, who had been called upon by the general voice of the provinces, re-established the constitution of monarchy, which, by solemnly declaring the person of the king sacred and inviolable, has more firmly fixed the crown on your majesty's royal head, has secured you against the artifices of any favourite, and thus enables your majesty to act more freely for the benefit of your people and the welfare of the state. The worthy sons of the country conceived that they could not make a better return to the confidence with which the provinces honoured them, nor offer to their king a more acceptable tribute, than to consolidate a vacillating throne by placing it on the broad basis of a fundamental law, which, being the legacy of our ancestors, and the expression of wisdom, justice, and the public will, closed the door equally against vile flattery and unjust aggression. It secured the administration of justice, established a law system of public economy, and sanctioned the respect, obedience, and veneration, due to the laws and the royal authority. Thus felt the representatives of the nation, in Cadiz. I saw them, Sire, send up deep sighs to heaven for the cruel captivity of their king: I saw them, like orphans, shedding tears of sorrow and anguish, and humbled before the Lamb of God, praying for the return of so amiable a father to his numerous and disconsolate family. I saw them, overwhelmed with joy and delight, give vent to their oppressed hearts, when they learned that the Almighty had listened to their fervent supplications, and that the tutelar angel of Spain had descended to break the chains imposed by tyranny. Such were their generous sentiments, when sordid interest, crafty ambition, atrocious calumny, and insatiable vengeance, after meditating in obscurity their detestable plots, dared to approach the throne, and sacrilegiously profane the sanctuary of majesty. But, Sire, let us spread a veil over those melancholy proofs of human weakness.—At length the happy day arrived, when a bright star arose on the Spanish horizon, which dissipated the thick clouds formed by intrigue and malevolence, and sacred truth shone forth with a brilliancy which excited the admiration of some, the respect of others, the confusion

of many, and the conviction of all. Happy Spain again sees assembled those cortes which rendered the reigns of her Alphonsos and her Ferdinands so glorious; and the most virtuous of nations—forgetting wrongs, pardoning injuries—is solely employed in re-establishing a constitutional government, in preserving the purity of her holy religion, and in giving testimonies of gratitude and veneration to her king, now seated on his august throne amidst the national congress, after having taken a solemn oath, by which he is made greater than the son of Philip was by the conquest of oriental kingdoms. O magnanimous king! the noble and loyal Spaniards are sensible of the numerous evils from which you have saved them by this generous act—by which the genius of evil, prepared to light up the flame of discord among us, is crushed. All hope that every pernicious germ will be extinguished, and that eternal peace and concord will take root in their stead. Let the fears, jealousies, and distrusters, which criminal souls have excited in the heart of the best of kings, for ever disappear, and all unite in surrounding the throne with that fraternal alliance which secures order, produces plenty, maintains justice, and preserves peace. And permit me, Sire, the faithful organ of this congress, and of the nation it represents, to present to you the due homage of its fidelity, and of the honourable sentiments by which it is animated. As our illustrious ancestors always were the firmest support of the throne and the monarch, so the same Spain, always ready to give brilliant testimonies of loyalty and love to her kings, solemnly promises you, that her sons, who have displayed in war more sanguinary examples of fidelity than were known to past generations, will make sacrifices worthy of Spanish heroes, and the admiration of future ages.’

“ His majesty replied in the following terms—

“ ‘ I accept the expressions and sentiments of love and loyalty which the cortes manifests towards me through the organ of its president; and I hope, through its assistance, to see the nation I have the glory to govern, free and happy.’

“ Immediately after, his majesty read with a clear, intelligible voice, and with all the dignity becoming his character, the following speech.—

“ ‘GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES,—At length has arrived the day, the object of my ardent wishes, on which I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the heroic and generous Spanish nation, and in which a solemn oath has completely identified my interests, and those of my family, with the interests of my people.—When excess of evils produced the clear manifestation of the voice of the nation, formerly obscured by lamentable circumstances which ought to be erased from our memories, I immediately determined to embrace the desired system, and to take the oath to the political constitution of the monarchy, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary cortes in the year 1812. Then did the crown, as well as the nation, receive its legitimate rights; my resolution being no less spontaneous and free, than conformable to my own interests and those of the Spanish people, whose happiness has never ceased to be the object of my sincerest wishes. My heart, thus indissolubly united with the hearts of my subjects, who are also my children, the future presents to me only agreeable images of confidence, love, and prosperity.—With what satisfaction must the grand spectacle be contemplated, hitherto unexampled in history, of a magnanimous nation, which has passed from one political state to another without convulsion or violence, subjecting her enthusiasm to the guidance of reason, under circumstances which have covered with mourning, and inundated with tears, other less fortunate countries!—The general attention of Europe is now directed to the proceedings of the congress which represents this highly favoured nation. From it are expected prudent indulgence for the past, and enlightened firmness for the future; and that at the moment which confirms the happiness of the present and succeeding generations, the errors of the preceding epoch may be buried in oblivion. It is also hoped, that multiplied examples will be displayed, of justice, beneficence, and generosity: virtues which always distinguished Spaniards; which the Constitution recommends; and which, having been religiously observed during the effervescence among the people, ought to be still more strictly practised in the congress of their representatives, invested with the circumspect and tranquil character of legislators.—It is now time to undertake the examination

of the state of the nation, and to commence those labours indispensable for the application of remedies suitable to the evils produced by ancient causes, and augmented, both by the invasion of the enemy, and by the erroneous system of the succeeding period.—The account of the public revenue, which the secretary of state, to whom that department belongs, will present, will shew its diminution and embarrassment, and will excite the zeal of the cortes to seek and select, among the resources still possessed by the nation, those best suited for meeting the engagements and indispensable charges of the state. This inquiry will serve more and more to confirm the opinion, that it is essential and urgent to establish public credit on the immutable basis of justice and good faith, and the scrupulous observance and fulfilment of all engagements which give satisfaction and tranquillity to creditors and capitalists, native and foreign, and relief to the treasury. I fulfil one of the most sacred duties which the royal dignity and the love of my people impose on me, in earnestly recommending this important object to the consideration of the cortes.—The administration of justice, without which no society can exist, has hitherto depended almost exclusively on the honour and probity of the judges; but now, made subject to known and established principles, it affords to the citizens new and stronger grounds of security: and still greater improvements are to be expected, when our codes, carefully improved, shall attain that simplicity and perfection which the knowledge and experience of the age in which we live are capable of giving.—In the interior administration, difficulties are experienced, which proceed from old abuses, aggravated during these latter times. The persevering application of the government, and the zeal with which its agents, and the provincial authorities, labour to establish the simple and beneficent municipal system adopted by the Constitution, are lessening the obstacles, and will, in time, perfect a department of the state which has an essential influence over the public welfare and prosperity.—The army and the navy call more particularly for my attention and solicitude. It will be one of my first cares, to promote their organization, and establish them in the manner most convenient for the

nation; combining, as far as possible, the advantages of forces so important, with that economy which is indispensable, and relying on the patriotism and good-will of the people, and the wisdom of their representatives, to whom I shall always have recourse with entire confidence.—It is to be expected, that the re-establishment of the constitutional system, and the flattering prospect which that event presents for the future, may, by removing the pretexts of which malignity has been able to take advantage in the ultramarine provinces, smooth the path to the pacification of those which are in a state of agitation or disturbance, and render unnecessary the employment of any other means. The examples of moderation, and the love of order, given by peninsular Spain, the just pride belonging to so worthy and generous a nation, and the wise laws which are promulgated, conformable to the Constitution, will contribute to this object, to the oblivion of past evils, and will draw closer all Spaniards around my throne, sacrificing to the love of their common country, all the recollections which might break or weaken those fraternal ties by which they ought to be united.—In our relations with foreign countries, the most perfect harmony in general prevails; with the exception of some few differences, which, though they have not disturbed the existing peace, have given rise to discussions which cannot be terminated without the concurrence and intervention of the cortes of the kingdom. Such are the differences pending with the United States of America respecting the Floridas, and the marking out the boundaries of Louisiana. Contests likewise exist, occasioned by the occupation of Monte Video, and other Spanish possessions on the left bank of the river Plata; but though a complication of various circumstances has hitherto prevented the adjustment of these differences, I hope that the justice and moderation of the principles which guide our diplomatic operations, will produce a result suitable to the nation, and conformable to the pacific system, the preservation of which is now the general and decided maxim of European policy. The regency of Algiers has given indications of a wish to renew its old system of restlessness and aggression. To avoid the consequences which may arise from this want

of respect to existing stipulations, the defensive treaty entered into in the year 1816 with the King of the Netherlands, stipulated the union of the respective maritime forces in the Mediterranean, destined to maintain and secure the freedom of navigation and commerce.—Thus, as it is the duty of the cortes to consolidate general happiness, through the medium of wise and just laws, and hereby to protect religion, the rights of the crown, and of the citizens; so also it belongs to my office, to watch over the execution and fulfilment of those laws, and especially of the fundamental law of the monarchy, in which the hopes and wishes of the Spanish people are centred. This will be my most grateful and most constant duty. To the establishment, and to the entire and inviolable preservation, of the Constitution, the power which that Constitution grants to the royal authority will be devoted; and in that will also consist my duty, my delight, and my glory. To fulfil and bring to perfection this great and salutary enterprise, after humbly imploring the aid and guidance of the Author of all good, I require the active co-operation of the cortes, whose zeal, intelligence, patriotism, and love to my royal person, lead me to hope, that they will concur in all the necessary measures for the attainment of such important ends, thus justifying the confidence of the heroic nation by which they have been elected.’

“The president replied:—‘The cortes has heard, with singular satisfaction, the wise address in which your majesty has expressed your noble and generous sentiments, and described the state of the nation. The cortes presents to your majesty its most respectful thanks, for the ardent zeal with which you promote the general prosperity; and promises to co-operate with your majesty’s intelligence, and to contribute, by all possible means, to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been convoked.’

“As the unrestrained joy of the deputies, spectators, and multitude, convinced me,” says our authority, in continuation, “that this was a day of general oblivion and amnesty, I also endeavoured to forget the melancholy transactions of the last six years. From the moment of the king’s entrance, until he retired, the queen kept her eyes

riveted on his person: she appeared, in fact, to feel, that fortune could not confer a greater blessing, than in thus enabling her to be present, when her husband had so effectually recovered the lost affections of his people.

“After the president’s reply, Ferdinand, accompanied by the queen, entered the same carriage, and were followed by the other members of their family. It was with extreme difficulty the procession moved on, so great was the pressure of a crowd that filled the streets through which it had to pass, and the avenues leading to them. In addition to the immense concourse that impeded their passage, the balconies and windows were filled by all the beauty of Madrid: innumerable banners waved from every side; garlands of flowers were thrown on the carriage as it passed; and nothing was heard but expressions of the most enthusiastic loyalty. Several bands of music went before the procession, playing patriotic marches. The first carriage reached the palace at half-past one; soon after which, the populace retired, and festivity was suspended till the evening, when a general illumination took place: the theatres were also thrown open to the public, and the streets continued to be crowded till midnight.

“Such was the reception of Ferdinand the Seventh and his family, when he swore to adhere to the Constitution; and thus ended one of the most impressive sights I ever beheld: it might be called the triumph of virtue, as well as of freedom; for the people seemed to entertain only one sentiment, that of securing their future happiness by identifying the interests of the sovereign with their own.

“The most perfect harmony reigned throughout this and the following days: it is true, that the ambassador of a neighbouring power is reported not only to have been rather dissatisfied, but to have manifested even his displeasure, by attempting to break through a barrier placed in a street leading into that through which the procession passed. An assassination had also been perpetrated the preceding night on one of the body-guard; but, except as mere matters of historical fact, such isolated incidents do not deserve to be noticed, amidst the unequivocal acclamations of a hundred and fifty thousand human beings.

“If I have dwelt somewhat in detail on the events of the 9th, it is because a knowledge of all those circumstances, however trivial, which attend the first efforts of a people who have recovered their liberties, is necessary for those who would form an accurate opinion of their motives and character.”

CHAPTER IX.

The Laws and Decrees of the first Cortes put in Force—Partial Opposition to the new Order of Things—Recapitulation of some prominent Points of the Constitution—Legislative Labours of the Cortes—Law relating to the *Persians*—Against Conspirators—Of the Militia—Landed Property—Individual Liberty—Liberty of the Press—Monasteries, and Religious Orders—Popular Clubs—Finances—Retrenchments—Opposition to the Law for secularizing the Clergy—Close of the Session—The King’s Speech to the Cortes—Disbandment of the Army of the Isle of Leon—Riego dissatisfied, but yields to the Government—The King replaces some Officers—Remonstrances from the Ministers—Perturbed State of the Capital—New Ministers—Riego recalled—Appointment of popular Generals to Command—Appearance of an anti-constitutional Pamphlet—Discovery of the Author—Popular Clamour against the King—The King complains to the Cortes—His Majesty’s Speech on opening the Cortes of 1821—The Ministry again changed—Report on the State of the Kingdom—Increase of the Army—Fresh Disturbances—Measures of Precaution—Assassination of Vinuesa—Morillo appointed to command at Madrid—Seignorial Rights abolished—Other Proceedings of the Cortes.

FROM the moment that the Constitutionalists finally triumphed over the faction of the Serviles, the government were busily engaged in putting in force those laws and decrees which had been adopted by the former cortes, and which had remained a dead letter, upon the resumption of the monarchical authority by Ferdinand. All privileges and seignorial jurisdictions were abolished; and the militia was ordered to be re-organized, pursuant to the injunctions of the Constitution, by which it was enjoined, that the officers should be elected by a majority of the corps, receive their commissions from the municipality, and swear to defend the Catholic Religion, the Constitution, and the King. The

further profession of monastic vows was suspended; and the persons who had been banished on account of their attachment to King Joseph, were, under certain restrictions, permitted to return: it is said that their number was not less than six thousand. The archbishops, bishops, and curates, were ordered to read and explain the Constitution in their churches. Any person (*Decree of the 26th of March*) who should refuse to swear fidelity to it, or, in swearing it, should do so with reservations contrary to its spirit, was declared unworthy to be considered as a Spaniard, and disqualified to bear any honour, or exercise any office, in the monarchy: in case of ecclesiastics thus offending, their revenues were to be confiscated.

It would have been strange, indeed, if such a total change in the government should have taken place without producing dissatisfaction—offending the opinions, and interfering with the interests, of considerable classes of the people, and producing, in consequence, a proportionate opposition to its progress. That this repugnance was not greater, and more extensive, than in reality it appears to have been, can only be accounted for by the fact, that the oppression and imbecility of the late government had, at length, thoroughly disgusted all parties and classes in the nation. This, and every other period of the popular struggles, however, formed a striking contrast to the conduct of their neighbours the French, during the season of their political convulsions; where the subdued parties entered into diabolical conspiracies for the overthrow of their opponents, and where the ruling power used its utmost authority to proscribe and exterminate its enemies. But it must be admitted, that some symptoms of reluctance did shew themselves. At Saragossa, a body of four or five hundred of the populace, supposed to be instigated by the clergy, attempted, amid cries of “The king for ever!” “Religion for ever!” to pull down what is termed the stone of the Constitution, and were guilty of some other excesses. The assemblage was dispersed only by the approach of a large military force; and severe measures were taken to punish those who were suspected of having been concerned in the design. The governor, the Marquis of Alazan, brother of

the celebrated Palafox, was recalled; the archbishop put under arrest in his palace; several of the clergy, and a considerable number of other individuals, were thrown into prison; and a commission was appointed to inquire into the whole affair. In Galicia also, a body of peasants, guerillas, and disbanded troops, collected together, and took the field, under a banner inscribed "Religion and the King!" but they were soon dispersed by three battalions under Espinosa, seconded by a body of the national militia. In these, and in some other instances of opposition to the new government, the clergy were the avowed instigators of the counter-revolutionary movement. They afford, however, but comparatively unimportant exceptions to the general tranquillity and good order which accompanied the establishment of the constitutional regimen.

In order that the reader may be enabled more perfectly to understand the nature of the change which had thus been effected in the Spanish government, I shall recapitulate a few of the principal features of the Constitution; some of the general outlines of which have been briefly noticed in a preceding part of the work. By the third article, the sovereignty is declared to reside essentially in the nation. The cortes consists only of one chamber, which is formed of the deputies of the people. The deputies are elected by all the citizens; one deputy for every seventy thousand souls in the state. The elections are made in the electoral juntas of parishes, districts, and provinces: the citizens of all the parishes choose the electors for the district; and these again name the electors who are to meet in the capital of the province to elect the deputies to the cortes. The cortes are to meet every year, on the 1st of March, without awaiting any instrument from the king for their convocation. The session is to continue at least three months every year, and may be prolonged for another month by a vote of two-thirds of the members. The deputies are to be renewed entirely every second year; and the same individuals cannot be elected to sit in two consecutive cortes. In their oath, they swear to protect the Constitution, and be faithful to the nation, without any mention of the king. No foreigner, not even one naturalized, can be a deputy.

The king is to come without guards, and open the sessions with a speech. No deliberation can take place in his presence. The debates are public; the members inviolable for their opinions, and cannot ask or accept rewards, pensions, or honours, from the king. The approbation of the cortes is necessary, before any offensive alliance can be formed, or commercial treaty made. They determine, on the proposal of the king, the strength of the army and navy; they regulate, too, the system of general education, and approve that formed for the Prince of Asturias; they enforce the responsibility of all the public functionaries; they give instructions and form regulations for the army, navy, and militia, in all their branches. The power of legislation lies altogether with them: the king, indeed, has a suspensive *veto*, but he cannot exercise it without stating his reasons; if he fail to do so within thirty days, his silence is construed into assent. A bill thus thrown out may be brought in again during the next session, and again rejected by the crown: if the bill is renewed and passed in a third session, it becomes law without the king's assent, and without any reference to him at all. All deputies are paid a certain salary by the provinces they represent. Half the number, plus one, constitutes a quorum. The king's ministers have no seats in the house. Before the close of a session, the cortes nominate a permanent deputation of their body, to watch over the strict observance of the Constitution, with instructions to report any infractions to the next cortes. This same commission has the power of summoning an extraordinary meeting of the cortes, when the crown shall become vacant, or the king incompetent, or when his majesty shall be desirous of convoking them.—It is evident from this summary, that political power resides wholly in the representative assembly. By the fourth title, indeed, the person of the king is declared inviolable, and he is said to be empowered to declare war, make peace, invest with honours, nominate to all employments, military, ecclesiastical, and civil, to propose laws, to pardon culprits, and appoint and dismiss his ministers. It is observable, however, that the exercise of most of these prerogatives is considerably fettered by the authority of the *council of*

state. This body is formed of forty members, chosen by the king from a list of an hundred and twenty proposed by the cortes; and the forty members thus chosen are paid a certain salary to be fixed by the cortes. No actual deputy can be a member of this council; and when a vacancy occurs in it, the cortes present to the king three names, of which he must take one to fill up the vacant place. The council is declared to be the sole council of the king; who is to take its advice in all the important affairs of his administration, and particularly in the points of giving or refusing his assent to bills, declaring war, or making treaties. It is not expressly stated, but we are led to infer, that the decision of the council, in these cases, is compulsory on the king. In another respect, the authority of the council is laid down more unequivocally: it is empowered to present to the king three persons for presentation to all ecclesiastical benefices, and to all situations in the judicature; and the nomination must be one of the three persons thus recommended. The distribution of honours and distinctions are made according to fixed laws, (*con arreglo à los leyes.*)

There is a strong similarity between the general provisions of this charter and those of the French constitution, as determined by the national assembly in 1790. In both cases, the king was reduced to a mere executive officer of the will of the representatives of the people: the name of monarchy, indeed, was preserved, but the government was essentially republican, and, in fact, more exclusively popular in its nature than most of the republics upon record.

On the same day on which the cortes were assembled, the supreme junta resigned its functions; and the former immediately commenced their legislative labours.

Fifteen committees were nominated for the prosecution of the labours pertaining to the several departments. On the 15th of July, a report was read from the minister of war. From this it appeared, that the army consisted of 53,705 infantry, and 7850 cavalry; both, for the most part, in a very deplorable state with respect to arms and clothing. The arsenals were almost empty. The number of officers, notwithstanding the reductions which had taken place, was quite out of proportion with the rest of the troops. The

infantry had hardly received any clothing since 1814. More than 38,000,000 reals of pay were due to the cavalry, and twice as much to the infantry. The expense of the whole army was estimated at 352,607,000 reals. With respect to the colonies, no exact statement of the military force in those parts was given; but it was asserted, that, since 1814, 42,177 troops had been sent out to America. The picture presented by the report of the minister of marine was yet more discouraging. The minister of finance, on his part, shewed, that if the existing public debt were consolidated, the interest of it alone would go near to absorb all the receipts of the treasury.

Such were the circumstances under which the cortes commenced its administration. Circumscribed as are our limits, it is impossible that we can give the proceedings of this memorable session with that particularity of detail which the very interesting nature of the discussions that took place would otherwise prescribe. We must content ourselves with a simple enumeration of some of the most important results of their deliberations.

One of the earliest subjects of consideration with the cortes, was the degree of punishment to which it might be expedient to subject the *Persians*. The persons thus designated, were the sixty-nine deputies, who, in 1814, had taken part with the king for the overthrow of the Constitution, and who were thus called from the first word in their protestation, beginning, "The Persians, when they made laws," &c. It was at length decreed, that these individuals should be declared to be for ever disqualified for the exercise of any office, civil or military; and the ecclesiastics were further punished by the confiscation of their temporalities. On the other hand, the *Afrancesados*, or *Josephinos*, who had been banished by the king, as having joined or consorted with the French in the late war, were restored to all their rights as citizens.

A law was passed, declaring that all persons conspiring to change the constitution of the monarchy, as it existed, or to throw the legislative, judicial, and executive powers into the hands of one man, or one body, should be punished by death, as traitors. The same penalty and character was

extended to all persons seeking to establish another religion in Spain. Any Spaniard seeking either by words or writings to dissuade the people from the observance of the Constitution, should be banished for eight years to one of the neighbouring islands of the Peninsula. In case of a public functionary, or of an ecclesiastic, so expressing himself in his sermons, charges, or official pieces, the offender is to be imprisoned for eight years, and then banished for ever. Thus the leaders of the revolution seem to have prepared betimes for the opposition of the clergy.

The militia was put on a new footing. Every Spaniard, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, was made liable to serve in the militia, with the exception of certain professions, and of persons who lived solely by their daily labour.

The late re-establishment of the Jesuits was declared illegal.

All existing entails of landed property were abolished, and all future entails of the same nature forbidden. This was a most important measure, in an economical as well as a political point of view: the power of accumulating property by substitution, had been carried in Spain to an extent most injurious to its agriculture; and it was even calculated, that the greater part of the territory of the Peninsula was thus bound up in *mayorazgos*.

Individual liberty was secured by a law, which forbade the detention of any person beyond four-and-twenty hours, unless it is shewn, by a summary instruction, that an offence punishable by corporal infliction or durance has been committed, and that there are sufficient grounds for suspecting that the person arrested is guilty of the said offence.

The press formed the subject of another decree not less important. By this, every Spaniard was allowed to print and publish his opinions without being subjected to any previous censure. An exception was made in the case of works relating to religion; which were not allowed to appear, without the sanction of the ordinary, or judge of the ecclesiastical courts. The juries who are to judge of offences of this nature, are named by the municipal body of the capital of the province.

By a decree passed the first of October, all the monasteries of religious orders, comprehending the Benedictines of Arragon and Catalonia, the convents and colleges of the military orders of St. James, Calatrava, Alcantara, and Montejun, with those of St. John of Jerusalem, and St. John of God, were finally dissolved. An exception was made in favour of eight convents, to be designated by government, which had acquired peculiar veneration from their antiquity, or from other causes. The monks ordained *in sacris*, who had not attained their fiftieth year, were to have a pension of three hundred ducats; those between fifty and sixty, to be allowed a pension of four hundred; those above sixty, six hundred. Other professed persons were to receive one hundred ducats when under fifty years' of age, and two hundred if above. They were qualified for employment in all civil departments, and subjected to the same charges as the laity. The government promised to protect, with every means in their power, the secularization of the regular clergy. The nuns were to be allowed a pension of an hundred ducats. The revenues of these establishments were to be devoted to the payment of the national debt. It was calculated, that the number of religious houses to be suppressed, in consequence of this decree, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five.

By a decree of October the 20th, it was ordered, that, previous to the application of this property to the debt, annual rents, of eighty thousand reals each, should be secured upon it to Generals Quiroga and Riego, and their descendants; and, in like manner, a revenue of forty thousand reals to Generals Lopez, Bannos, Aguero, O'Daſy, and Espinosa.

A law was also passed for the regulation of clubs, and other meetings of that nature; which were forbidden to assemble, unless by permission, and under the eye of the magistrate.

The finances of Spain afford, perhaps, the most embarrassing department of the public economy of that kingdom. From the report made to the cortes by the committee of finance, it appears that the national debt amounts to a sum of not less than 14,220,572,391 reals, or nearly 160,000,000

pounds sterling. Various funds were applied by order of the cortes to the liquidation of the capital and interest of this debt; among others, as we have already mentioned, the confiscated revenues of the Inquisition, and of the religious orders. In order to meet the more pressing demands, a loan of 200,000,000 reals was negociated with the house of Lafitte, at Paris.

Considerable reductions were ordered in various departments of the public expenditure. The civil list of the royal family was settled at 45,090,000 reals, in English money not quite 500,000 pounds sterling. The charges on account of the ministry for foreign affairs were reduced one third; that of justice, one half: 20,000,000 were cut off from the hundred demanded for the navy. The regular army was limited to a peace-establishment of 66,828 men. The whole charge on the treasury for the service of the year, including the interest of the debt, amounted to 702,802,304 reals, (about 7,600,000 pounds.) To meet this, the ways and means afforded a supply of 530,394,271 reals, leaving a deficit of 172,408,033 reals, or about 1,865,000 pounds, which was to be covered by the loan to which we have just alluded.

Since the period of the triumph of the revolution, the king had remained perfectly passive, and had sanctioned, apparently without resistance or remonstrance, every act of the cortes, however manifestly tending to destroy what little yet remained to him of his former authority. To the decree for the abolition of the regular clergy, however, he seemed to feel a peculiar repugnance: it was not till after the hesitation of a month, that he was induced to affix to it his sanction; and on the same day, October 25th, he departed for the Escorial. The measure itself was not universally popular: in some provinces, indeed, particularly in Valencia and Catalonia, the people had endeavoured to anticipate the regular execution of the decree; and it was necessary to send troops to protect the convents from the pillage of the peasantry. The archbishop of Valencia, who had published a violent charge against the projected confiscation of ecclesiastical property, was nearly at the point of falling a victim to the indignation of the populace, and

compelled to embark for Barcelona; but in other quarters, a different feeling seems to have prevailed. In Andalusia and Galicia, the country was kept in agitation by the assemblage of masses of royalist peasants, or brigands, as it was now their turn to be called. In Estremadura, one Morales collected a body of partisans in the neighbourhood of Avila, and endeavoured to rally the discontented in an open attack upon the new government: the attempt, however, was disconcerted by the vigilance chiefly of the Count de Abisbal, who succeeded in securing a considerable number of the band. Morales himself fled into Portugal. The insurrection does not appear to have been of a very formidable nature; but it was sufficient to alarm the Liberals at Madrid, or, at least, to give them an opportunity for pretending alarm. In a secret sitting of the cortes, on the 7th of November, the Ultra-Liberals, if we may so call them, violently attacked the equivocal system acted upon by the ministers: they particularly inveighed against the suppression which had been authorized of the popular clubs and meetings, which they contended were necessary to foster in the people the spirit of resistance and watchfulness. The ministers admitted the expediency of resorting to measures of a more decisive character; and an address was unanimously voted to the king, expressive of the feelings which had been avowed by all parties in the course of discussion.

On the 9th of November, the session of the cortes was closed, when a speech from the king was read by his ministers, his majesty himself being stated to be confined in his bed at the Escorial by a violent cold. The royal discourse was couched in the following terms.—

“GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES,—I have the satisfaction to manifest to the cortes the pleasure I derive from the result of the first period of their sittings. During their continuance, I have frequently experienced sentiments of regard, inspired by the zeal and wisdom with which the congress has laboured to consolidate the public felicity, and the lustre of the throne, which is inseparable from that of the nation. I myself have promoted the prorogation of the sittings, as prescribed by our fundamental laws, sensible

that the establishment of our political system, at the beginning, requires more time and greater labours, and also well convinced of the advantages of this prorogation, as regards the progress of the important business of the anterior months. I feel thankful for the generosity with which the cortes have provided for the wants and decorum of my house, and those of the royal family; and I cannot but applaud the frankness and justice with which, in solemnly acknowledging the obligations and charges of the state, they have approved the indispensable means of discharging them, thus laying the foundation of our national credit and future felicity. These wise measures—with others intended suitably to organize the land and sea forces, to facilitate the circulation of our territorial riches, to remove all opposing obstacles, to establish a plan of finance, such as may reconcile the interests of the state with those of the people—have been objects of incessant application and continued exertions of the cortes, and rendered them deserving of the universal estimation of Europe, and the just gratitude of the kingdom. At the same time, I cannot but assure you, that my heart has been filled with gladness on beholding the measures of prudent generosity and indulgence with which the cortes have endeavoured to heal the wounds of the nation, and efface the remembrance of the evils by which it has been rent; opening the door of reconciliation to error and obstinacy, and, at the same time, still leaving alive the sweet hope that you will henceforward continue animated by the same noble sentiments, in order to cement the constitutional system on the basis of the fraternity and reciprocal love of all Spaniards. By this means, the solid power of the nation, and of the monarchical authority by which it is directed, go on increasing; and at the same time that improvements in our internal situation are preparing, we acquire a well-founded right to the consideration of foreign governments, all of whom continue to give me proofs of their friendly disposition. Every day I congratulate myself more and more, on governing a people so worthy and generous. I have co-operated in the glorious enterprise of their regeneration, and in the laudable efforts of the cortes, through the proper means of the royal pre-

rogative. I have dictated the measures suitable for the execution of the laws; and I do not doubt that time will give great force and vigour to our institutions, and that those advantages which already begin to be realized will progressively increase. Confirmed by the lessons of experience, I thus hope to be enabled to express myself to the representatives of the nation, when, after resting from their labours and fatigue, they again assemble, in the ensuing session, in order to continue the undertakings they have left pending, and, as hitherto, successfully to promote the public prosperity.—*San Lorenzo, November 7th, 1820.* —FERDINAND.”

Upon the conclusion of the king's speech, the president declared that the session was closed; and the meeting broke up amid the loud and applauding acclamations of the people, who thronged every avenue of the hall. On the day previous to the prorogation, it had been unanimously determined, that no deputy should leave Madrid, during the recess, without the express permission of the permanent deputation of the cortes, and that the leaves of absence thus accorded should not extend to more than a fourth of the whole.

Nothing could be more strikingly indicative of the mistrust which prevailed respecting the disposition of the king, than the adoption of a precaution of this nature. Both the cortes and the people appear now to have reposed a perfect confidence in the intentions of the ministers; but it was generally supposed that his majesty's ecclesiastical counsellors had operated on the royal mind in counteraction of the counsels of his more legitimate advisers; and the residence at the Escorial was conceived to have afforded a peculiar opportunity for an interference of that nature.

I have already mentioned the request preferred by the army of the Isle of Leon, that it should not be separated until after the meeting of the cortes, and the acquiescence of the government in that demand. Quiroga was elected one of the deputies to that assembly, and was in consequence obliged to resign the command to Riego. It was soon after judged necessary to dissolve the army; and the general was compensated for the loss of his command by the nomi-

nation to the captain-generalship of Galicia. Riego, however, remonstrated violently against the measure. Early in September, he came in person to Madrid, where he was for some time the great object of popular idolatry; and his proceedings at length assumed a character of such violence, that it was deemed necessary to take measures to put a stop to them. It was on this occasion, that the measure for the putting down of the seditious clubs, to which we have before alluded, was proposed and carried in the cortes. Riego was deprived of his command in Galicia, and sent into quarters in his native town, Oviedo: a similar punishment was extended to several of his partisans. The execution of these measures was attended with some symptoms of tumult and agitation among the populace of the capital; but the firmness of the government, supported as it was by the decidedly expressed opinion of the cortes, prevailed, and Riego, on the 6th of September, was fain to set out for the place of his exile. Scenes somewhat of a similar nature occurred shortly after the prorogation.

The public mind was already sore on the subject of the king's prolonged absence from his capital, when a circumstance occurred that contributed still further to inflame the general discontent. On the 16th of November, the captain-general of New Castile, Vigodet, received a despatch in the king's handwriting, by which he was ordered to give up the military command of the province to General Carvajal, he himself being named counsellor of state. Rubianez, political chief of Madrid, was also removed from his office, and on a similar pretext. At the same time, Carvajal received an order, appointing him to his new command, which was signed by the king, but without the countersign of a responsible minister, in the manner ordained by the Constitution. When these circumstances had transpired at Madrid, the people were loud in their reprobation of the change: Vigodet promised to retain the command, until he should hear further from the king. The permanent deputation of the cortes assembled, and called upon the ministers to give an account of the transaction; and, in the result, a respectful remonstrance was transmitted to the sovereign,

observing upon the informality of the nomination of General Carvajal, and representing the expediency of his majesty's speedy return to the capital. This address was accompanied by a proffer of resignation on the part of all the ministers. On the 17th, an answer was received from the Escorial, in which the king simply stated that he would not accept the resignation of the ministers, and added, that he would take into consideration the representations of the deputation. When the purport of this reply became known, the popular fermentation was such, that apprehensions were entertained that it would break out into open tumult. The garrison was put under arms, and several orators addressed the people in different parts, endeavouring to tranquillize their minds, and to impress them with feelings of respect for the authority of government. In the mean while, new representations were made to the king, on the part of his ministers, and of the permanent deputation; and, at length, on the 18th, the king's second answer was published, in which he stated his intention to return to Madrid as soon as good order was established within its walls: he added, that he had removed from his person his confessor, and the mayor of the palace. His majesty allowed that he felt the pain of this sacrifice: he protested, that neither of these persons had ever interfered to advise him on subjects not connected with their proper functions; but he was anxious, he said, to give every satisfaction to his faithful people.

On the 21st, the king, accompanied by the royal family, returned to Madrid. The nominations which shortly after took place, to several of the most important offices of the kingdom, seem to indicate, that the king had now abandoned all further idea of resisting, or even qualifying, the completion of the revolution: Riego was recalled from his exile, and made captain-general of Arragon; General Velasco, who had been exiled with him, on account of his conduct at Madrid in September preceding, was appointed to the same command in Estremadura; Espinosa, the leader of the Galician insurrection, was named captain-general of Old Castile, and General O'Donoju of the province of Madrid; the Duke del Infantado, and Generals Bassecourt and St. Marc, were sent into provincial quarters; the Archbishop of Valencia

was banished from the kingdom, and his goods confiscated; and all possible activity was employed in the execution of the laws lately decreed by the cortes, particularly in hastening the dissolution of the convents, and the sale of the confiscated property.

These measures were of a nature to tranquillize any reasonable apprehensions that could exist, as to the constitutional spirit of the course pursued by government, and they were confirmed by a series of appointments, by which the whole administration of the kingdom seemed effectively to be placed in the hands of the most marked and determined of the revolutionary party: Moreno Doaiz was made captain-general of Andalusia; Mina was transferred to the command of Galicia, and was succeeded in Navarre by Don Miguel Lopez Banos; and Don Philip Arco Arguero was appointed commandant-general of the province of Tuy.

Notwithstanding these popular measures, pretexts were soon found for exasperating the passions, and awaking the suspicions, of the populace. A pamphlet, entitled, 'The Cry of a True Spaniard,' had been privately distributed in the streets of Madrid, the object of which was evidently to excite a counter-revolutionary movement among the people. But, judging from some of its expressions, it would not appear that it had in view the restoration of the old government, with its detestable abuses: "We desire," it was said, "neither despotism nor anarchy. Let us have no Camarilla, but let us have no factious cortes: let us have a free national government, founded upon our ancient institutions, and our holy religion!" This paper, it appears, had produced a considerable impression on the people, and the municipal police made every exertion to discover the quarter from whence it came. At length, on the 28th of January, 1821, a body of alguazils suddenly entered a printing-office in the street of Bano, where they found several forms set up with the paper in question. The printer confessed, that it had been given to them by Don Matthias Vinuesa, lately curate of Tamajan, and now archdeacon of Tarragona, and honorary chaplain to the king. Vinuesa was immediately arrested, and the manuscript of the pamphlet was found in his chamber, wrapped in a hair shirt. When the circumstance

of this discovery became public, considerable agitation was manifested in the capital. At the Fontana de Oro, the place of meeting for the more violent partisans, speeches were made, pointing out the danger there was that the culprit should be suffered to escape; and a multitude was soon collected round the hotel of the magistracy, demanding that measures should be taken to prevent such an evasion of public justice. The magistrates immediately doubled the guards of the prison in which the unhappy chaplain had been deposited, and, moreover, proceeded to address a letter to the king, praying that the delinquent might be speedily brought to justice. A passage of this paper will shew the spirit in which it was drawn up: "That," said the municipality, "which we predicted to your majesty, has been too soon confirmed. It is in your palace, in your own household, that the people believe these disorders to originate: the plots which disturb the peace of the citizens, proceed from one source which remains secure—they come from a handful of profligate men, who continue to raise the cry of tyranny and arbitrary power."

It was not through the municipality alone, that the rabble succeeded in making its opinion and wishes known to the king: the prince could scarcely take an airing, without being assailed by the cries of the people, invoking the execution of justice upon Vinuesa, and the dismissal of such of the persons about him as had incurred their displeasure or dislike. This system of personal insult and menace was carried so far, that Ferdinand was at length, on the 4th of February, obliged to complain of it to the municipality. That body published an address, enjoining a more quiet demeanour to the people; though, by the admission which it contained of the justice of their demands, it was rather calculated to inflame than restrain their passions: a body of police was also sent to patrol round the palace. On the following day, the king went out at his usual hour; but the same insulting cries were immediately renewed by the populace: at this instant, a portion of the life-guards issued out, and dispersed the assemblage sword in hand. Several persons were wounded in the affray: the people, however, soon returned in force, and the guards were compelled to retreat to their

barracks. The city of Madrid continued in considerable agitation throughout the night. The municipality assembled, and sent a request to the king that the guards might immediately be disbanded. This demand, somewhat extraordinary, was acceded to: the council of state answered, indeed, that the cortes alone could decide on the disbanding of a corps, but they determined that the regiment in question should provisionally cease from its service about the king's person, that the members of it should be disarmed, and that individuals concerned in the late attack on the people should be imprisoned preparatory to their being brought to trial.

The king took an early opportunity of expressing the sense which he entertained of the danger of his position, and of the inefficacy of the measures taken by his ministers to sustain that portion of prerogative or dignity which had been assigned to him under the new Constitution. The cortes opened the session on the 1st of March, when his majesty addressed them in the following speech.—

“GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES,—On seeing myself surrounded a second time by the worthy representatives of this heroic nation, which has given so many proofs of love and attachment to my royal person, my heart, moved with gratitude, cannot refrain from returning thanks to the Almighty, who hath restored me to the throne of my ancestors by the valour and perseverance of my faithful subjects, and who hath vouchsafed to consolidate it by founding it upon the Constitution sanctioned by the extraordinary cortes, and which, conformably to the will of the nation, I have, of my own accord, sworn to maintain. The happiness of the people whom Divine Providence hath committed to my care, which is, and ever shall be, the object of my most ardent wishes, alone determined me to adopt a system which the nation desired, and which, besides, the progress of knowledge and the peculiarity of the times imperiously demanded. Indeed, every thing answered my expectations; and I beheld, with the greatest satisfaction, the people surrounding the throne, and every where displaying the most unequivocal manifestations of loyalty to their sovereign, and their adherence to the new institutions, which, in founding their grandeur and prosperity, are, at the same time, the firmest support of my

throne, and constitute the splendour of my crown. The measures adopted by the cortes in the former legislature, to regenerate a nation on the point of dissolution, in consequence of the sacrifices made to relieve the people from the enormous burdens imposed upon them, with a view to revive credit and make industry flourish, and, finally, to infuse vigour into the different branches of the administration—all these dispositions, united to exemplary economy, which reigned in all our councils, and to the proofs of respect and attachment given by such worthy representatives for my person, have filled my heart with the most lively gratitude.—I am aware, that, in spite of our best endeavours, the wounds of the nation can be healed only by time. The confusion, and the general disorganization, produced by the war—the consequent embarrassments, the destruction of immense capitals—the confusion occasioned by the divers usages and customs in the provinces, the want of a general standard, the corrupt system of administration, and the necessity of meeting without delay the expenses of the state—have not yet permitted, as I could have wished, the establishment of an uniform system of finance, suitable to the reformed government now in practice. I confidently hope that the cortes, in the present session, will direct their peculiar attention to an object so essential. The accomplishment of such a system must be the work of time; and, in order to carry it into effect, the cortes may rely upon my inviolable resolution, as I confide in their co-operation.”.....

“But we ought not to dissemble the fact, that, while we exult in the contemplation of such benefits as the constitutional form of government cannot fail to produce—while we contemplate the general content of the nation, and its determination to defend it—the attempts of some evil-disposed persons, seduced by the illusions of those who in all times indulge chimerical and criminal hopes, have succeeded in disturbing, for a moment, the tranquillity of some of the provinces, as well as of the capital, which has produced in my heart the most pungent grief. I trust, that the cortes, in the discharge of their important duties, will feel the necessity of taking prompt measures to check the audacity of those, who, encouraged rather than restrained by the moderation

of the government, dare to disturb the public tranquillity anew; and they will confide, at the same time, to the discretion of government, a power commensurate to the exigencies of the case, and without which it will be impossible to heal the wounds which have afflicted the country for several generations.”.....“I have intentionally deferred speaking of my own person to the last moment, to prevent any one supposing that I cherished myself more than the welfare of the people whom Divine Providence has confided to my care. It is my duty, however it may distress me, to inform this wise assembly, that I cannot but observe there are some evil-disposed persons, who seduce some of my inexperienced subjects, by persuading them I entertain secret views opposed to the present system: their aim is to create distrust as to the purity of my motives, and the loyalty of my conduct. I have sworn to the Constitution, and I have always endeavoured to observe it in every thing that can relate to my actions. Would to heaven that every one did the same! It is public, that all manner of outrages have been committed upon my dignity and my honour, and against the respect that is due to me as your constitutional king. I am under no apprehensions for my own life, for God, who reads my heart, will watch both over it, and over the sound part of the nation. But I ought not to be silent in the presence of this assembly, charged as I am to maintain the inviolability which ought to be observed towards your constitutional king. These insults would not have been repeated, if the executive power had displayed that energy and vigour which the Constitution requires, and the cortes wish for. The want of activity among many of the authorities has given rise to these guilty excesses; and, without proper vigilance, we must not be astonished to see the Spanish nation plunged into an abyss of evils and calamities. But I am confident this will not be the case, if the cortes, as I have reason to expect, are attached to their constitutional king, and if they employ themselves without delay in remedying these abuses, and counteracting the machinations of the evil-disposed, who wish for nothing but anarchy and discord. Let there then be a strong co-operation between the cortes and myself; and I swear, in

the face of the nation, to consolidate the system which it has formed, and which it has obtained, for its complete welfare and felicity.—FERDINAND.”

The king pronounced the latter part of this speech in a tone firm and dignified, but strongly expressive of emotion. It came altogether unexpectedly upon the audience, and particularly so to the ministers, all of whom, after the sitting, sent in their resignations. Their names were Don Evariste Perez de Castro, minister for foreign affairs; Don Garcia Herreras, for justice; Canga Arguelles, for finance; his brother, Augustin Arguelles, for the interior; Don E. Giron, Marquis of Amarillas, minister for war; and Don Juan Jabat, for the marine. This last was the only one who provisionally retained his office: and, on the 3d of March, he was ordered to communicate to the cortes a message from the king, in which his majesty desired that the cortes would present to him a list of such individuals as they thought were worthy of the confidence of the nation, to compose a new administration. The king stated it to be his wish, to give, by this appeal to the wisdom of the cortes, an undeniable proof of the sincerity and rectitude of his intentions.

This message was made the subject of animated discussion, or rather animadversion, in the chamber; for all the members who spoke seem to have agreed in approving the conduct of the late ministers, and in deciding that the cortes could not interfere in the mode alluded to. A message was accordingly addressed to his majesty, stating that the principles of the Constitution did not allow the cortes to take any part in the nomination of ministers. At the close of this sitting, Don Juan Jabat* also gave in his resignation.

The king was now compelled to resort to the mode pointed out by the Constitution for the renewal of the cabinet. He desired the council of state to present him with a list of candidates; that is, three for each department. From these, his majesty chose the following names, which were announced to the cortes on the 5th: Don Eusebio

* This individual is now (1823) ambassador from the constitutional government of Spain to the court of Great Britain.

Bardaxi was declared minister for foreign affairs; Don Raymond Felix, for the interior; Don R. L. Pelegrin, for the provinces beyond sea; Don V. C. Manuel, for justice; Don Antonio Barrata, for finance; Don Thom. Morenó y Daoix had the department of war; and Don F. Escudero, that of the marine. This list included men of all parties.

In the mean while, the cortes had prepared their reply to the king's speech. They stated, in reference to the expressions that his majesty had used in the conclusion of his discourse, that, faithful to the Constitution, they should never behold with indifference any act not conformable to that principle which considers the royal person as sacred and inviolable; and they expressed their firm confidence, that the king, as supreme and sole head of the executive, and concentrating in himself the power of causing the laws to be executed, would give orders for repressing with energy any excess contrary to the institutions, by the means prescribed by those institutions themselves.

The reports upon the state of the kingdom, external and internal, which had been prepared by the late ministers, were now laid before the chamber. That of the minister for the foreign department was presented by M. Andnaga, who was charged, *pro tempore*, with the portfolio of the department. It began by stating the final ratification by the king, of the cession of the Floridas to the United States. Adverting to the affair of Naples, it was observed, that the king, perceiving that the principle of the Spanish revolution was attacked by the measures of interference about to be adopted against Naples, had represented to some cabinets officially, and to others confidentially, that he could not acknowledge any such right of interference on the part of any power; and had further inquired, how far it was intended to apply the same principle to the case of Spain. The great powers, however, had acknowledged, that, in the causes in which the Spanish revolution had originated, and in the unanimity with which it had been received by the nation, they found legitimate grounds for confidence and security; and several of the cabinets had already given positive assurances that they had no intention of interfering in any way in the domestic affairs of Spain. The conduct of

the government, in this respect, was strongly approved of by a resolution of the cortes on the 3d of April: a motion made by M. Romeo Alpuente, professing to call on the king to mediate with the great powers, in favour of Naples, was at the same time rejected.

The subject that next occupied their consideration, was, the internal regulation of the chamber itself. Among the rules laid down under this head, was the exclusion of women from the galleries, and the power given to the president to punish the violation of order on the part of any member, by enjoining the offender to quit the chamber during the rest of the sitting. Much discussion took place on the subject of allowing the presence of the ministers during the deliberations: it was at length determined, that they might assist at the public sittings, for the purpose of giving explanations, but they were not allowed to vote, nor was any particular bench assigned for their convenience.

On the 20th of March, M. Calatrava gave in the report of the special commission which had been charged to inquire into the state of the internal safety of the kingdom. The report stated, without hesitation, that there existed a plot for the overthrow of the constitutional system. This plot, it said, was directed by a superior junta, and many of the higher clergy took part in it. It had broken out on various occasions, particularly at the beginning of the session, upon the dismissal of the late ministry. That ministry had vigorously exerted itself for the detection of the conspiracy; and its fall had, therefore, been hailed as a triumph by the disaffected. Among the papers of Vinuesa, had been seized a plan of counter-revolution, written in his own hand. The object of this scheme seems to have been the destruction of the existing Constitution, the arrest and punishment of the principal leaders of the Liberal party, and the re-establishment of every thing on the footing of the 6th of March, 1820, with the exception of the convocation of the cortes, as formed by the states-general of the kingdom. The commission, in concluding their report, proposed, among other measures, that public thanks should be given to the army and militia, for their faithful attachment to the Constitution; that the sale of national property, and

the suppression of the convents should be accelerated; and that the political chiefs of the several provinces should be called upon to give information respecting the conduct of the bishops. The general tone of this paper was in evident disapprobation of the conduct and principles of the present ministers, as compared with those of the last. Its conclusions, however, were adopted by the cortes, which, on various occasions, manifested a similar distrust of the new councils of the king.

When the news of the fall of Naples arrived, it was decided, that succours should be afforded to such of the Neapolitan deputies and generals as should take refuge in Spain: at the same time, it was ordered, that a message should be sent to the king, to concert with his majesty such measures as might appear necessary in these circumstances. A violent debate arose, on the question, whether the ministers should be present at the conference of the deputation with the king? and it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one vote only.

Measures were now taken for strengthening the military force of the kingdom. The regular army had been fixed at about 67,000 infantry, and nearly 8000 cavalry: by a new decree, all Spaniards, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, were liable to be called upon to defend the country; and the kingdom was divided into eight military divisions. With a view to the more decisive suppression of the proceedings of the counter-revolutionary party, it was decreed, that all persons accused of conspiring against the state and the Constitution, should be subjected to the jurisdiction of a council of war, except in cases where the delinquents had been arrested by the civil powers. As soon as the political authorities should have learned of the existence of any band, or unlawful assembly, they were to publish a proclamation, summoning the parties to disperse to their several homes; and all persons, who, after a certain interval, should be found collected, in contravention of this order, should be subjected to the judgment of the military tribunal.

The adoption of these measures was more immediately suggested by the disorders which continued to prevail in

various parts of the kingdom. In the province of Alava, the curate of Merino had entered Salvatierra at the head of nearly eight hundred men, and overturned 'the stone of the Constitution.' After defeating the national guards of Vittoria, which had come out against him, Merino marched upon that town: he was met, however, at Ochandiano, by the captain-general of the province, Don Lopez Banos, and, after a short contest, the insurgents were dispersed. About five hundred prisoners were taken, and sent to Pamplona; and the leaders, who were commonly monks or curates, were tried by a court martial, and immediately executed.

Upon the motion of the deputy Sancho, a committee was appointed by the cortes to consider of the measures necessary to be adopted for the repression and punishment of such ecclesiastics as endeavoured to involve the country in a civil war. On the 29th of April, a series of propositions were adopted, upon the report of the committee, the main tendency of which was to make the higher clergy responsible for the conduct of their inferiors. In the mean time, the unhappy Vinuesa had been brought to his trial; and, on the 3d of May, he was condemned to serve for ten years in the galleys of Africa. This sentence did not satisfy the populace, and they determined to take into their own hands the execution of what they thought to be justice. On the following day, the prison in which Vinuesa was confined was surrounded by an immense multitude: a party provided with crows and mallets forced the gates of the building, and, making their way to the chamber of the victim, they with the same instruments put an end to his existence. A portion of the mob then proceeded to the royal palace, and vociferated the most insulting expressions respecting the king and Don Carlos. In the evening, a meeting took place at the Fontana de Oro; and it has been said, though the fact has never clearly appeared, that lists of proscription were formally drawn up, in which about twenty obnoxious individuals were marked as fit objects for similar inflictions of popular vengeance. The king sent a messenger, next day, to the cortes, pointing out the danger and the disgrace to which the government would

be subjected, if such an atrocity was not punished in the most exemplary manner. All parties in the cortes concurred in expressing their horror of the deed; and the opposition attributed its perpetration to the unpardonable remissness of the ministers themselves. An inquiry was ordered; but nothing satisfactory resulted as to the individuals who had planned or executed the murder: there could be little doubt, however, as to the class of politicians with which it had originated; and the parties were henceforth distinguished by the name of "the *martillo* (or hammer) faction," in allusion to the instrument by which the massacre of the unhappy canon had been effected. The party in question did not seem disposed to quarrel with the name; and it became a practice with the mob, to express their displeasure at the conduct of any individual by beating hammers against the pavement under his windows; an intimation sufficiently significant of the punishment prepared for such as had incurred the enmity of the rabble.

It was about this time, that Morillo returned from his command in South America. The reputation for talent and energy which he had so justly acquired, during the period of his government in the New World, pointed him out as the fittest person for the military command of the capital, during the present distempered state of the popular mind. After some hesitation, he was induced to accept the place of captain-general of Madrid; and the military force in the neighbourhood was increased to 12,000 men. Orders were issued, at the same time, that all persons should quit Madrid, who could shew no particular business to justify their stay. On the 28th of May, the tribunal of Valencia condemned to death the celebrated General Elio, for having conspired to destroy the constitutional government in 1814. Of the fate of this individual, who had rendered himself universally detested for his ferocious cruelties, particular notice will be taken in the sequel of this history.

The troubles still continued in the provinces, particularly in Navarre and Old Castile. The indefatigable curate, Merino, notwithstanding his late defeat, had soon taken the field again, and continued to baffle all the efforts of his enemies to circumvent or take him. An act of reprisal

committed by this chief upon a detachment of the regiment of Catalonia, which he had surprised at Tordueles, excited the peculiar indignation of the cortes; and it was proposed, at the moment, to give unlimited powers to the military commanders of the several provinces to which the insurrection should extend: upon cooler consideration, however, this project was abandoned.

As the legal duration of the session did not seem likely to give time for the completion of the several measures which had occupied the cortes, the king was induced to prolong their sitting for another month. That body proceeded to enact such laws as the state of the kingdom seemed urgently to call for, several of which were of a character truly important. A law was passed, subjecting ecclesiastics to the ordinary tribunals of the kingdom. The exportation of specie to Rome, for the purchase of bulls and dispensations, was prohibited; but an annual offering of 9000 piasters was assigned to the holy see, in compensation for this modification of its assumed rights. An allowance of 40,000 reals was assigned to the members of the legislature; who were, however, excluded from the enjoyment of any place, pension, or benefice, civil or ecclesiastical, during their deputation. An act of greater importance, was that by which it was proposed to abolish all seignorial rights resulting from a feudal tenure. The second article of this law enjoined, that all persons possessing such rights should be compelled to produce the original title under which they held them. This condition was considered to be, in fact, equivocal to an act of abolition: it was made the subject of long and warm discussions in the chambers, and was finally carried by a majority of eighty-five members against sixty-seven. This measure, however it may be justified by the necessities of the state, or by the incompatibility of the exercise of those rights in a country where a popular government had been established, may be questioned in its policy. Against the enactment of this law, the king exercised his prerogative, for a time at least, by the interposition of his *veto*; while the aristocracy opposed to it all their influence. Hitherto, the Spanish nobility, as a body, had taken no decided part against the revolution; but this attack on

their dignity and consequence seemed likely to allow them no alternative but that of hostility to a state of things that involved the spoliation of their order.

On the 25th of April, a law was passed, suppressing the regiment of life-guards; in substitution of which, the care of the king's person was in future to be confided to a royal corps of cavalry. The contingents to be furnished for the recruiting of the army for the year were fixed at 16,595 men. The naval estimates authorized the keeping in pay of 3500 men, for the service of five ships of the line, four frigates, and a few smaller vessels. The general expenses for the year were estimated at 756,214,217 reals. The ordinary ways and means voted fell short of this sum by no less than 81,214,217 reals: this deficiency, together with that of the year preceding, was to be met by a loan of 361,800,000 reals, to be raised entirely in Spain. At the close of the year, however, the subscriptions for the loan did not amount to 100,000,000 reals.

It was now become obvious, that the affairs of the kingdom could not remain long in their present state, and that the nearly equally balanced state of parties would lead to a crisis which must terminate in the ascendancy of one or the other. Although the king was under the necessity of appearing to sanction the constitutional code, and adopt the sentiments and views of the cortes, yet the deeply-rooted principles imbibed by Ferdinand, and manifested on every occasion wherein he was free to act on his own election, allow the choice of no other decision, than that he secretly favoured those opposing themselves to the ruling power. This conclusion is no less manifest from his conduct previous to the revolution of March, 1820, than from the part he acted subsequent to the period now alluded to.

CHAPTER X.

Unpopularity of the Ministry—Failure of an Attempt to bring over the National Troops at Barcelona to the Government Party—Defection of the Military at Cadiz—Partial Change in the Ministry—Law for Restrictions on the Press—Popular Ferment at Madrid—Spirited Proceedings of the Cortes—Report of the Cortes on the Disturbances—Meeting of the new Cortes—Foreign Relations—Finances—Popular Commotions in the Provinces—French Cordon of Health—Report on the State of the Kingdom—Army of the Faith—Proclamation of La Trappe—Report of a special Committee—Address to the King—His Majesty's Reply—Character of the Spanish Nation.

ON the opening of the year 1822, the kingdom presented the greatest state of anarchy. The ministry was composed of men who, though they professed themselves friendly to the constitutional code, supported to the utmost extent of their limits the royal prerogative, and, by their moderation, excited suspicion of the soundness of their political principles. On the other hand, the cortes were loud and clamorous for their removal from power; and in this wish the great majority of the army, as well as the people, participated. In the mean time, the priesthood and the aristocracy* were

* Of the number and condition of the Spanish nobility, the following account is given by Mr. Blaquier.—"An excessive attachment to titles, ribbons, crosses, stars, armorial bearings, and all the other appendages of feudal institutions, formed a conspicuous trait in the Spanish character previous to the late change, and is still cherished by numbers, who have been brought up in the fatal belief, that the honours and rewards earned three hundred years ago are a sufficient excuse for their own sloth and inactivity. The proofs of this anxiety to derive importance from ancestry, are most conspicuous in Biscay, Asturias, and Navarre, where every one lays claim to nobility, and the very cottage-doors are surmounted with an immense escutcheon, to ornament which the whole animal and vegetable world has been put in requisition. The lovers of heraldry would do well to visit those provinces, in which a wide field is open to their researches: there never was such an abundant display of gules and quartering, lions rampant and couchant, tigers, cats, dogs, hawks, pigeons, &c. &c. The chief difficulty I found, was in ascertaining what the animals were meant to represent: it frequently occurred to me, that, if interrogated, the artists would themselves be somewhat at a loss

actively employed in efforts to widen the breach between these two parties, in hopes of taking advantage of their mutual broils, for the purpose of bringing the new system into disgrace, and effecting a restoration of the ancient government.

In Catalonia, the militia and a great part of the regular troops were on the tiptoe of actual rebellion. Early in January, the captain-general, Villacampa, was ordered to make his entry into Barcelona, for the purpose of bringing the disaffected forces into subjection, and to cause the authority of the government to be respected. With this view, he ordered two regiments of artillery, which remained at St. Andre, to hold themselves in readiness to proceed for that city, into which he purposed to enter, with drums beating and lighted torches, about four o'clock in the afternoon. These regiments, infected with the same spirit as the militia, on receiving this order, resolved not to execute it; and, in effect, they determined to arrive at Barcelona before the general, who had to travel from Vich to St. Andre,

on this subject. With respect to the rage for nobility, it was so great some years ago, that, according to the calculation of La Borde, made in 1788, all the families in Biscay and Asturias considered themselves as possessing noble blood. In the first-named province, there were 116,910 titles, amongst a population of 308,000 souls; while Asturias boasted no less than 114,740, out of 347,766, its total number of inhabitants. It should be observed, that titles were formerly to be bought here, as in Italy and Germany." The same writer estimated that there were 119 *grandees*, 535 counts, with marquesses, viscounts, &c. making a total of 478,716 nobles. The number of titles has been greatly increased during the reigns of Charles the Fourth and Ferdinand. The scandalous prostitution of honours and rewards, during the last forty years, in this country, by which riches and titles have been almost exclusively reserved for the most profligate and corrupt of the nation, is of itself a sufficient reason for the contempt into which titles and decorations have fallen. These, like laws, become ridiculous or contemptible, when unnecessarily multiplied: their number, and the facility of obtaining them in this country, have produced those very effects; while the extreme poverty into which some of the highest nobility have fallen from various causes, renders their titles only an additional source of unhappiness. The nobility of Spain would act wisely by bearing in mind a truth which is too generally disregarded, that titles are respectable only when accompanied by probity and virtue.

in order to defeat his intentions. At half-past twelve o'clock, the two regiments began their march, while an extraordinary courier was despatched to announce their approach, and the reason of their setting off before the appointed hour. The commander-in-chief of the national guard, M. Coste, ordered, on the reception of this news, a general beating to arms; and, soon after, no less than 6000 of the militia assembled on the promenade of La Rambla, a detachment from which body then proceeded from Porte Neuve, to receive the artillery regiments. On the other hand, General Villacampa reached St. Andre at the time when the two artillery regiments had commenced their march. He placed himself at their head, upon their advance, and asked of their commanders, why his orders had not been obeyed? He was answered by the colonels of these regiments, that it was because those orders did not please them. Indignant at such a reply, the general called on the authorities to support him: he then endeavoured, in vain, to rally the soldiers; but, being in personal danger, he retired from the scene. The general now hastened to the citadel-gate, where he met with the governor; to whom he appealed, and was admitted into the citadel. Knowing that the 6000 militia had rallied at La Rambla, he resolved to present himself to them, accompanied by the governor and some officers, and endeavour to recall them to their duty as citizen-soldiers. It was of consequence that it should be accomplished before the arrival of the artillery regiments; and therefore the general went to La Rambla, and asked the colonel whether he might, without danger, venture to penetrate the ranks? To this M. Coste replied, that he might, without fear, if he entertained the same sentiments as the militia towards the Constitution. The replication of the general was, "I would shed the last drop of my blood in its defence." M. Coste asserted, that this averment was not sufficient, and that it was necessary to make a solemn and authentic declaration, that, from that day, the whole of Catalonia would hold itself independent, till the ministry was changed; and also, that, unless the king should speedily change it, that province would remain quite independent of his government. General Villacampa restrained his indignation; but,

obliged to concede to an overpowering force, he limited his efforts to representing the dangers too likely to ensue from such a rebellion. He was then suffered to retire, without personal injury; while the troops subscribed a declaration to be presented to the king, entitled, "The glorious day of Barcelona."

The people and army at Cadiz and Seville were not less clamorous for the dismissal of the ministers than those in Catalonia. From the popular clubs, the most exciting speeches were sent abroad; till, at length, Ferdinand, who had tenaciously refused to hearken to the solicitations of the discontented by changing his advisers, became seriously alarmed. On the first day of the year, the political chief, Dauregui, convoked the chiefs of the garrison of Cadiz, and asked them if they were determined to second the inhabitants of that city and Seville? All, with the exception of the colonel of the regiment of the Princess, declared that they would shed the last drop of their blood in fight against the ministers. In consequence of this, a *plan de campagne* was traced; and the first operation decided upon was, to take possession of one of the passes in the Sierra Morena, and there defend themselves against a body of forces which the government had threatened to send against them. A great majority of the inhabitants of Cadiz, however, urged an opinion, that the army of Andalusia ought to proceed direct to Madrid, and re-construct the constitutional throne.

In this dilemma, the king, seemingly moved more by his fears than his inclinations, yielded so far as to dismiss, or rather to accept the resignation of four of his obnoxious servants: namely, Bardaxi, minister for foreign affairs; Felici, for the interior; Salvador, for the war-department; and Vallejo, for finance. His majesty accompanied the announcement of this measure with a declaration, in which he says, "These resignations I have hitherto declined to accept; but, considering the present circumstances, I have now allowed them to retire; acknowledging, however, that I am satisfied with their good services, their attachment to the Constitution, their loyalty to my person, and their zeal for the public good." The difficulty of filling up these

vacancies was severely felt by the king; and particularly as the change was partial, and by no means satisfied the wishes of a majority of the cortes, who were anxious for an entire change. In short, numbers of the popular leaders refused to accept the offices offered them, and they remained unoccupied for a considerable length of time.

There is nothing more difficult, in great political changes which favour popular feeling, than to restrain within due bounds intemperate excess. In their ebullition for public freedom, preceding legislators had established the liberty of the press, but had made its necessary restraints so lax and undefined, that this valuable adjunct to a free nation threatened the extinction of those blessings which it was designed to confer. It was now not only directed against despotism and oppression, but attacked all public men and measures that were not congenial with the taste of the mob, with indiscriminate violence. The cortes, in its aggregate capacity, and many individual members who had distinguished themselves as the firmest friends of the constitutional government, were frequently held up to public detestation. To remedy this evil, the project of a law was laid before the cortes, for the avowed purpose of restraining the licentiousness of the press. The favourable manner in which it was introduced, rendered its adoption by the assembly probable; but a furious spirit of clamour was instantly excited among the revolutionary party. On the 3d of February, when this projected law was to be discussed, the populace assembled in front of the legislative hall, exclaiming against "the treason of the cortes," and insulting such members as did not participate in their anarchical views. From thence they proceeded to the residence of Count de Torreno, who was a supporter of the law, against whom there is every reason to believe they intended personal mischief; but he had the good fortune to escape by a back door: they effected, however, a complete pillage of his house. They next hastened to the habitation of the deputy, Martinez de Rosa, where, to their disappointment, they found a regiment of infantry drawn up, between whom and the multitude some blows were exchanged. On the following day, similar scenes of tumult were renewed, and among the evil-disposed were

seen many of the military assembled, while loud cries were vociferated,—*Down with the cortes! Down with the king!*—with other offensive exclamations. The political chief of Madrid was also violently assaulted, and the king himself, and his brother Don Carlos, did not escape the popular rage.

On this occasion, the extraordinary cortes, which was then sitting, manifested a dignity and spirit which conferred upon their proceedings a character of exalted patriotism; and, what is a signal proof of the excellent disposition of the whole body, not a single individual was found among them to justify or extenuate the disgraceful outrage. In illustration of the eulogium bestowed on these legislators, I shall introduce the proceedings of the cortes, on their sitting of the day subsequent to the tumult, and which had the effect of preventing a repetition of such outrageous scenes.

The president having taken his seat, ordered two regulations of the cortes, in relation to the privileges of deputies, to be read, and then addressed the assembly as follows: “It is with much pain that I see myself under the necessity of recalling an article of your regulations; but the cortes and the public know how impossible it is to be silent on the events of yesterday. Let us undeceive ourselves!—the bulk of the Constitution, and of our liberties, is the cortes. There cannot be cortes without discussion; and there cannot be discussion, if the deputies are not free to express their opinions. What more could our enemies desire, than disorders of this nature? Placed in this chair for the third time, I may die; but I shall die bearing witness to the whole world, that if years of persecution for defending the liberties of my country had not made me succumb, neither would I succumb at the sight of greater risks. Unfortunate Spain, at a time when the persons of its deputies are not respected! If they are thus attacked, what shall we hope for? Those are declared enemies of the Constitution, who do not respect the national representatives. In these critical circumstances, the public ought to be informed, that, at the first noise in the galleries, I shall end this sitting: and I should likewise desire, that some member of the

cortes would excite its zeal by a proposition on the insult offered yesterday to the national representatives, not only with a view to the preservation of their persons, which would be of small consequence, but to preserve the national representation and the Constitution."

Senor Garcia Page submitted the following proposition: "In consideration of the events which happened yesterday, I request the cortes to order, that the secretaries of state be called immediately to congress, to give information on the means taken by government to avoid the result of these events, and the precautions that have been enforced to maintain the public tranquillity, and to agree to those which belong to the power of the cortes." This proposition was not admitted to discussion.

Senor Cepero then introduced the following: "That a despatch be sent to ministers, requiring their immediate attendance, to inform the cortes of the occurrences of yesterday on the rising of the sitting, of the insults offered to various deputies, and of the means which had been taken to prevent their repetition." Its author then said, "Though the proposition of Garcia Page has not been admitted to discussion, I shall use the freedom of speech allowed me by your regulation, and shall express the motives which have induced me to make the proposition which has just been read. Before this epoch, I had been elected a deputy, and had the misfortune to see our fundamental law abolished. Then, I saw not only my opinions despised, but found myself thrown into a dungeon; but, till this sanctuary of the laws was shut, my person was religiously respected. During the course of yesterday, I was witness to a scene which exceeds all the horrors I have ever seen; and in the midst of my misfortunes, which are well known, I never experienced a pain like that of yesterday. I saw, in some sense, my country threatened with slavery; for what can be hoped for the preservation of freedom, when the national representation, to which the public have entrusted their rights and liberties, is trampled upon. Let it not be supposed, that I blame the Spanish people, or even the people of Madrid: they are not capable of an outrage of this nature. The deputies who have received the powers of the nation, have

not contracted any greater obligation than to preserve the Constitution; and how can they do so, if they may be trampled upon with impunity? Those deputies who were yesterday insulted, exposed their breasts to the daggers of assassins, out of love for their country; but can all the members of the cortes be supposed to possess the same firmness of character? As for me, I shall act freely, because dangers do not alarm me. But are all the deputies actuated by the same courage?—some of them feeble through age, and others weak from physical constitution. Those who brought about the scandalous scene of yesterday are declared enemies of their country, and have inflicted a deeper wound on it, than the rebels who lift their hands against it. I cannot but recall the indignity committed in the house of the widow of Porlier—of that hero who sacrificed for his country, and whose name is written in this august place, as a testimony of national gratitude. That house was pulled down, because it sheltered Count Torreno—the illustrious deputy, whose sacrifices and services need no praise of mine!” The honourable deputy concluded, by proposing the resolution stated above.

Senor Sancho said, “All the national representatives were insulted, in the indignity offered to their colleagues yesterday. It is as much an insult to shout ‘*viva*’ to a deputy, for his opinions, as to cry ‘death’ to him; and therefore, satisfied with the approbation of my conscience, I equally despise both. If the deputies are not free to express their opinions, there is no longer a Constitution. But are the cortes really without liberty? I am far from being of this opinion. Because a dozen or two persons, paid to commit this excess, (for they were heard to say they had received such and such sums,) insulted the two deputies, the national representation ought not to be considered as deprived of all freedom: but, at the same time, I am of opinion, that the cortes cannot but take cognizance of this occurrence; since, although freedom still exists, it may be lost, if an event of this kind be viewed with indifference. The cortes ought also to consult its own dignity, as well as its freedom, and to exterminate a miserable faction, which is only of importance in proportion as it excites disorders.” In the

opinion of this deputy, the infliction of punishment was more necessary than the calling for information from government. He concluded with the following motion: "That a commission be appointed, which, after consulting with the government and the competent authorities, may propose to the cortes such measures as it may think proper, with respect to the occurrences of yesterday."

Senor Quiroga strongly inveighed against the scandalous disorders of the previous day. *Vivas* had been shouted to the freedom of the press, and to Riego; but they had likewise heard *vivas* to an absolute king, and cries of "Death for Riego and Quiroga!" He ascribed all this to the feebleness of government, who had taken no precautions to prevent, on the previous day, scenes similar to those which had occurred three days before. He declared his respect for Count de Torreno; and said, that, as soon as he heard of the insult offered him, he sallied forth from his house, determined to die by his side. "As a deputy, and as Quiroga," said he, "I cannot but declare it as my opinion, that the cortes should instantly direct the authorities to fulfil their duties, and to procure respect for the laws."

Senor Martinez de la Rosa said, that he would not have spoken on this occasion, were it not to testify to the zeal with which the authorities acted in extending their protection to him. So much were they disposed to afford him all the defence in their power, that he was himself obliged to countermand the troops they were sending to guard his house. He did not, however, think, that the cortes ought to entertain the question, unless submitted to them by government. If they went into it as a legislative question, it would be attributed to the fear they entertained of their own safety. The cortes (he said) possessed fully the freedom of deliberation; and, as the best proof they could afford of the fact, they ought immediately to enter on the discussion of the project of law which formed the order of the day. The occurrences of the preceding day had sufficiently shewn the weakness of the disorganizing factions, which had no other means than their audacity. They would disappear before firmness and prudence.

Conde de Torreno.—"My view of the subject is the.

same as that expressed by Senor Martinez de la Rosa. It is certain, that our persons alone were insulted; but in them an insult was offered to the whole of the national representation. The house of a citizen—of a deputy—which formed the asylum of the widow of a Porlier, has been forcibly entered: some of my servants were maltreated and wounded. Perhaps those who committed this attack have been instigated by some of the persons who contributed to the tragic end of Porlier, and by whom I was prosecuted even in a foreign land. I might name some chiefs of assassins, whom I know; but what can the cortes do in this affair? On this point, I think with Senor Martinez de la Rosa; but I do not concur in his declaration, that he should present himself unarmed to the poniards of the assassins. If they return to attack my house, they shall not enter it unless they take it as they would a fortress. Let us then proceed tranquilly with the discussion of the law-project. If there should be any doubt of certain abuses, in which the press has no slight part, the events of yesterday must remove it. I must add, that I have nothing to complain of any of the authorities, since they all did their duty. I know not what was the intention of the mob, but it is certain that they had purchased ropes to bind me with. The thing, however, being past, I do not believe that I have any personal danger to fear: the authorities have sent more troops to my house than are necessary to repress any disorder."

Senor Sancho.—"I envy the virtue of Senor Martinez de la Rosa and the Conde de Torreno; for certainly there is great virtue in disdaining popular fame, and in that firmness of character which they exhibit. It is not, however, a personal question with them, but with the cortes. Yesterday, the whole national representation, not single deputies, was attacked; and the cortes is bound to shew the interest it takes in seeing the Constitution and the national representation respected. I could wish to have my head organized in a different manner, and to see things under a different point of view from that in which I do see them, in order that I might vote to-day against what I defended yesterday. In saying this, I think I sufficiently manifest the contempt I entertain for this faction: but, notwithstanding this con-

tempt, I insist that the cortes cannot look on this affair with indifference. It is said, that the cortes have not failed in their duty; but, though this should be the fact, it is not the less necessary to investigate the origin of the evil. I attribute no weight to what has been said by Senor Martinez de la Rosa and the Conde de Torreno, against my proposition, because I perceive that their opposition arises from delicacy. The cortes are bound, for the protection of their inviolability, and for the sake of decorum, to investigate the matter. This they are even bound to do, that they may not become responsible to future cortes for a negligence which may be to them of serious importance."

Senor Calatrava.—"The cortes must not delay the adoption of energetic measures. I, who consider it a disgrace to have maintained an opinion conformable to that which the authors of this outrage affect to entertain, solicit and demand such measures as are absolutely necessary. There exists among us a liberticidal faction, which serves the views of foreigners, and labours, in their pay, to destroy the Constitution of Spain. This faction must be extinguished; for, if that be not done, great will be the hazard which the country will have to run. When two illustrious deputies, who have done so much for the cause of liberty in Spain, are insulted—when the whole national representation is insulted—what is not to be feared, if such excesses be not repressed? Yet those men who yesterday committed so horrible an outrage, have the audacity to call themselves Liberales! What, they Liberales? Infamous wretches! The Liberal man respects the laws; but they have openly violated them. What Liberal would break into the house of a citizen—of a representative of the nation—in which a person so respectable as the widow of General Porlier resided? They Liberales! Be they who they may, they are traitors; for such the law declares all those to be, who in any way attack the liberty of the cortes! What ingratitude does this outrage manifest! To attack the house of a deputy who has a thousand times exposed his life for the cause of liberty, and in which the widow of him who died so boldly for the cause of liberty had taken up her abode! I

hope the motion will be approved; if not, I will propose another."

Senor Zapata.—"They who, while they invoke liberty and the Constitution, endeavour to destroy both, are the greatest traitors. Those vile assassins who yesterday insulted the cortes, and in particular two of its most distinguished members, have been instigated by some ambitious man, destitute of talents or virtue; for such alone could engage in similar disorders. They wish, by disorder, to destroy the present cortes, because they have the audacity to found the most foolish hopes in the next. Yesterday, I heard from the base mouths of some of them, the cry, 'Live the next deputies!' I consider it to be the duty of the cortes to take the most efficacious measures for repressing disorders so fatal to liberty."

Here the discussion was closed, and the motion of Senor Sancho approved.

Such was the termination of this memorable sitting of the cortes; in which patriotism, good sense, and moderation, were eminently combined. On the 7th of February, the assembly resumed the discussion on the law restricting the press; when its various articles were adopted. Two resolutions were then carried, of the following purport: 1. That the preparatory meeting of the new cortes being about to take place, the present should close their labours.—2. That a commission should be appointed to represent to his majesty the mode and the time of doing so.—Before the conclusion of the sitting, the commission appointed to inquire into the mode and time of terminating the present session of the cortes, delivered their report, which embraced these three articles: 1. That it may be decreed, that the extraordinary cortes close their session on the 14th instant.—2. That, in conformity with the rules of the cortes, a deputation of twenty-two members may be appointed to communicate to his majesty, that, on the said day, the present cortes end their labours.—3. That this commission fulfil the object of its appointment on the 10th instant.

On the 9th, the special commission nominated on the 5th, to inquire into the circumstances of the outrage committed on the 3d and 4th, presented its report, after having

heard the king's ministers and the authorities. It declared its satisfaction with the zeal and the activity of government, its conviction that the riotous assemblage exercised no influence on the freedom of debate necessary to the existence of the deliberative powers of the cortes, and its knowledge that the persons who committed the excesses were few in number, and contemptible in character. Madrid (it said) was the centre of the people most disposed to disorders and commotions. The inexplicable conduct of some of the diplomatic agents of foreign countries, and the want of vigilance at Madrid, had given occasion to plans of subversion, and opportunities to foment dissensions by means of direct or indirect emissaries from abroad. As means for preventing similar disorders, the commission recommended to the next cortes to conclude the criminal code, to take into consideration the state of the police, and to form a plan for improving it, and to create one or two subaltern political chiefs at Madrid.—The extraordinary cortes was then dissolved.

On the 1st of March, conformably with the constitutional code, which prescribes that day for the meeting of the cortes, that body assembled; when General Riego was nominated president. It is understood, that when a deputation waited upon his majesty to acquaint him with the election, he did not receive the intelligence without emotion, but replied with much calmness, "I shall go, accompanied with my family, to open the session." The session was accordingly opened with a speech from the throne; but it contained nothing remarkable: no allusion was made to the appointment of Riego; who, in his reply, spoke chiefly of the obstacles which the constitutional cause still experienced, and of the firm determination of the cortes to remove them. When his majesty retired from the hall, the assembly resounded with cries of "Long live the cortes—the constitutional king—and the Spanish nation!"

In the sitting of the 3d, the reports of the ministers of foreign affairs and the interior were read; the former of which gave a satisfactory account of the amicable relations of Spain with foreign powers. This document is of considerable interest, inasmuch as it shews, that, up to this

date, no hostile demonstrations had been made by any member of the Holy Alliance; at least, none beyond what was comprehended in France having formed a cordon of troops on the frontiers, which professed to have no other object than to prevent the introduction of the contagious disease into France which had for some time previously afflicted the province of Catalonia. "In Russia," says the report, "the Spanish ambassador has been officially recognized by his imperial majesty; and the most perfect harmony reigns between the two governments. In noticing the national relation with France, the report thus proceeds: "The peace with France has suffered no alteration. In consequence of the epidemic, a cordon was formed along the frontier; but as the cordon still exists, though the contagion has ceased, his majesty, through the medium of his ambassador, required positive explanations on this point from the court of France. The same step was taken with respect to the refugees, and the relief given to the factions of Navarre: in consequence, the French ministry has issued orders, prohibiting the exportation of arms and warlike materials for the use of the said factions."

The minister of finance laid before the cortes, on the 5th of March, an estimate of the expenditure and income of the year; from which it appeared, that the former amounted to 861,591,645, while the latter only reached 664,162,913 reals, leaving a deficit of 197,828,732 reals. Notwithstanding the apparent magnitude of this sum, it was stated by the minister, that perhaps the revenue would be sufficient to cover all the charges, after the retrenchments that might be made, and which the government would propose to the cortes. On this occasion it was announced, that the deputies of the present cortes, desiring to contribute to the alleviation of the public wants, had unanimously conceded, in favour of the nation, one-fourth part of the allowances allotted to them by the former legislature. At the same time, Senor Seravia, one of the deputies, observed, that, convinced of the state of the nation, and the impossibility of its discharging its obligations, from the want of means, he would gladly surrender up, for the public benefit, 2620 reals velon, due to him in consequence of the settlement

of accounts ordered in the preceding year: he then handed to one of the secretaries the document which certified this debt against the state. Notwithstanding the voluntary sacrifice on the part of the cortes, and the praiseworthy patriotism of individuals, they tended but very immaterially to relieve the pressing necessities of the country.

Besides the dilapidated state of the finances, several other circumstances combined to render the kingdom distracted and unhappy. During the month of March, serious commotions occurred in several of the provinces, which kept the government forces in continual motion, and became the source of incessant anxiety. At Burgos, Pampeluna, and Valencia, the populace broke out into the most criminal excesses; in some instances assaulting the civil authorities, and in others bidding defiance to the military. What rendered these disorders more difficult to contend with, was, that the authors of them assumed the character of zealous patriots, affected the most ardent love for the Constitution, and, in fact, founded their discontent upon the plea, that the government did not carry the popular parts of the constitutional code to its natural extent. In these conflicts, it very commonly happened, that both soldiers and citizens lost their lives.

Another source of alarm and discontent arose from some demonstrations on the part of France, which gave cause for suspicion that that power had an hostile intention. On the one hand, the French government had surrounded the frontier with a large military force, under the plausible character of a cordon of health; but, long after the cause which had drawn these troops to this point ceased to exist, they still maintained their station in the neighbourhood of Bayonne: on the other hand, the Spanish government had every reason to believe, that the Spanish malcontents were supported in their treasons by the gold of the cabinet of St. Cloud; and that, in fact, the factious bands were organized within the French territory. These two topics formed prominent parts of a memorial of the Spanish executive, addressed to the cortes in the month of March, an extract from which is subjoined: and although the subjects are touched upon with a delicacy characteristic of state docu-

ments, it is obvious the court of Madrid was not without serious apprehensions. After allusion to various other topics connected with the state of the country, the memorial proceeds thus: "Our relations of friendship and good harmony with the court of France have not suffered the slightest alteration. The yellow fever, which last year afflicted some of the provinces of Spain, and more particularly Catalonia, induced the French government to place a military cordon of health on the frontier; which, although it has occasioned some irregularities in the communications and mercantile relations between the two countries, afforded no ground for complaint, considering the right which belongs to every nation, above all things, to attend to its own preservation. It appeared natural, however, that the cordon should be removed, when it was known that the contagion had ceased. This has not been done; perhaps from an apprehension that the disease might re-appear: but various representations have been made on this point to the French government; and our minister at Paris has been instructed to demand explanations on the subject. The government of his majesty being informed that some Spaniards, whose impotent attempts to subvert the constitutional system had experienced the disastrous result which was to be expected from such schemes, had taken refuge in France, solicited and obtained from his most Christian majesty, that these factious persons should be sent into the interior, and distributed in different points. The French government asked, in return, that measures of reciprocity should be adopted in Spain, and that we should order to withdraw from our frontier a few individuals of that nation, who excited apprehensions in France: his majesty was pleased to accede to this demand, founded, as it was, on principles of mutual convenience. The late events in Navarre attracted some seditious Spaniards to our frontiers, doubtless with a view of assisting the movements of the factious. His majesty immediately transmitted orders to our plenipotentiary at Paris, that he should demand the removal of those persons into the interior; and the French government gave the orders which were desired. His majesty has also ordered his minister in France, to state to the government of his most Christian majesty, that

he hopes succours will not be afforded to the factious refugees in that country, and that means will be adopted for preventing the introduction into Spain of arms or ammunition of war, destined for the supply of the seditious. The abuse which has been made by some French journals, of the liberty of the press, to attack our wise institutions, and to give an unfavourable idea of events in Spain, has also been made a subject of representation to the French government: that government has promised to take the subject into consideration, but, in general, has excused itself from adopting energetic measures against those abuses, by stating, that the censorship which it exercises is chiefly limited to the internal affairs of the kingdom, and that it is not easy to restrain the indignation which the censors and journalists of France feel at the gross insults frequently given to French public functionaries by the periodical papers of Spain."

Notwithstanding the Spanish government affects, in this document, to be satisfied with the explanations given by France in reference to the subjects to which it refers, yet it was impossible for the former not to be kept in a state of jealous apprehension. Every subsequent attempt to effect the removal of the French troops from the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, proved ineffectual; and the events which afterwards occurred justify the inference, that the cabinet of Louis meditated hostilities against their neighbours. From this period to the memorable occurrences at Madrid in the following July, it became daily more palpable, that secret encouragement was afforded by France to the royal faction, which was meditating mischief against the constitutionalists of Spain.

It has often been remarked in the progress of this work, that the clergy, rendered desperate by the immense sacrifices which the new order of things had imposed upon them, both in respect of emolument and influence, were the most inveterate and powerful enemies of the Constitution. The distracted state of the country, the violence of opposing parties, with the support they met with from the quarter I have just adverted to, encouraged them to raise the standard of open revolt; and, collecting all the disaffected they

could assemble, they embodied different bands, under the appropriate denomination of the *Army of the Faith*. That the grandees and their followers, including a large portion of the legal and military professions, who had been bred up in a belief that the people were destined to be little better than the beasts of the field, should have joined the clergy, is not a matter of the smallest wonder; nor is there any doubt, but that they would have made some efforts to resist the system, even without the instigation of the hierarchy. It may, however, be confidently asserted, that, had the clergy not organized the peasantry and appeared at their head, neither the civil aristocracy, nor the few military men who dishonoured themselves in joining the seditious bands, would ever have taken an active part in promoting rebellion.

Of the success of what was termed the *Army of the Faith*, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; in the mean time, it may be observed, that the means employed to set the Peninsula in a blaze, were of a character the most infamous and diabolical. There were, doubtless, thousands, who would gladly have seen the Holy Office, and its gorgon terrors, restored; and this assertion cannot be better proved, than by transcribing one of the innumerable proclamations with which Spain was inundated at this period. The following address was circulated through Catalonia, in the early part of May, by a monk of La Trappe, named Antonio Maranon,*

* The biography of this incendiary is shortly as follows:—Having been appointed a lieutenant of the regiment of Murcia in 1817, he was entrusted with a sum of money which belonged to the battalion; and having lost it at play, he deserted, to avoid the consequences. Becoming a Trappiste soon after, he appeared to conform to all the outward austerities of the brotherhood, till its suppression by the late cortes. Our hero then sought an asylum north of the Pyrenees: his reception there was not less cordial than that of all the bigots and knaves who had preceded him. When a plan of future operations was settled, Brother Antonio set out, supplied with the principal *materiel* of war—gold; and, crossing the frontier near Jaca, was seen to enter Reus in April, having two mules, well laden, in his suite. Nothing more was heard of the reverend father, until his proclamation was seized, and himself put to flight, together with his deluded followers, about two hundred peasants, by a small party of national militia. This took place at the end of June.

whose character will be best designated by his infamous production.—

“ Proclamation.

“Soldiers and Children in Jesus Christ!—By the aid of the Lord, you have just gained a degree of glory equal to that which your ancestors and forefathers acquired over the impious Moors, in favour of our holy religion. The bells of the temple of the Lord have called forth your valour and love for the triumph of the faith. Ye have taken up arms; and God will protect your salutary intentions. Ye have begun these glorious feats for exterminating the troops of the line, militia, and constitutionalists; continue, therefore, in your firm will and resolution, and you are more than a match for these perverse wretches: or rather, you will imitate your fathers, who elevated the cross on the Spanish soil, which you worthily occupy, in sign of the total destruction of the Moorish race. A new sect, still worse, is doing its utmost to conquer, on the ruins of the sacred temples, which you see shut up, or annihilated, daily. If you wish to be pure, and to conquer the road to heaven, follow my example, which will shew you that of victory; and the standard of the crucifix, that I bear in your front, shall be the fundamental base, and unerring guide, of all your actions. The Lord is pleased with sacrifices: being, as you are, Christians, and I being at your head, I depend upon you, in order to gain the end so much desired. Maranon directs you to fresh victories, like that which you have just gained; and our enemies, as well as those of religion, the spouse of Jesus Christ, will be saved only through our generous exertions. Let us therefore swear and declare, before the heavens, and in the presence of the image of the Lord, not to lay down our arms before they are exterminated: I mean, the *philosophers*, troops of the line, and militia. Unanimously, and with one accord, let us cry, ‘Long live our Redeemer!’ ‘Long live our absolute king!’ and, for the safety of these, ‘Blood and flames to every constitutionalist!’—LONG LIVE THE FAITH!”

The light in which the efforts of the Army of the Faith was viewed, and the measures adopted for its annihilation,

will be best described by the following report, made to the cortes by a committee of its own members, and read in that assembly in the month of May: "The special committee, charged to propose such legislative measures as the state of Catalonia may require, after hearing the secretaries of despatch, and examining the documents and statements communicated by them, find, as the result of the investigation, that the enemies of the constitutional system, (among whom are included some of the secular and regular clergy,) taking advantage of the distress of the said province, occasioned by the continued dry weather, and other circumstances, have seduced men, who, from their ignorance or fanaticism, or perhaps from criminal intentions, have taken up arms against their country. Among them are monks, and other persons, who, consistently with their character, ought to exhort to peace; but who have, on the contrary, taken advantage of it to preach sedition, pretending to the authority of divine inspiration and revelations. It has been attempted, on different points, to rouse the population to arms: hence has arisen the persecution of some distinguished patriots; whose property has been destroyed, and who have been obliged to save their lives by flight. The committee is therefore of opinion, that the said machinations present a character which calls for general and energetic measures, in order to terminate at once such enormous evils, and crush the offenders: for which reason, though the measures adopted by the government might prove efficacious, they think it necessary to make a proposition of a legislative nature, calculated to obtain the desired object. Setting out, then, from the principle, that all hope of impunity ought to be withdrawn from those who attack the laws, and are caught in the act, and convinced of the obstacles which would be opposed to the prompt punishment of the delinquents, if a process were instituted on account of each individual, the committee proposes the following measures."..... These measures were, the proclaiming of martial law, under certain regulations, and empowering the government to order the immediate departure of foreigners from the kingdom, against whom any suspicion exists.

From the period of this report to the latter end of June,

the affairs of the kingdom bore but few marks of general improvement, though it must be allowed, the cortes continued to display a magnanimity which entitles them to admiration and praise. On every side, they were assailed with the most appalling difficulties, and yet they seem to have maintained throughout, the firmest confidence in the triumph of the national energies. In most instances, we have referred the state of affairs to their own representation, as exhibited in their official communications; and we are not aware that we could have adopted any more acceptable data. Under this impression, we therefore adopt the following address of that body to the king, presented to his majesty on the 18th of June, with Ferdinand's reply.—

“SIRE,—The representatives of the Spanish nation, assembled in cortes for the present year, 1822, are overcome with grief at the prospect of the dreadful evils which afflict the country: it has honoured them with the greatest confidence, in entrusting to them the care of its destinies; and they would shew themselves unworthy of so high a favour, if they did not raise their voices to the august throne of your majesty, in order to unveil to the constitutional king, the dangers which menace this heroic nation.—The language of truth is the only one which ought to be addressed to kings who reign by the law, and who, bearing it always in their hearts, aspire to nothing but the happiness of those they govern. Sire, this heroic nation is already fatigued by the continual attacks of wicked men, and by the blows they unceasingly aim at its wise institutions. It does not fear any attack, in this respect: but it is irritated, it is exasperated; and the cortes and the constitutional king ought to tranquillize it, to secure its repose, to put an end to the conspiracies which are on foot, and to prevent the horrors that are meditated.—It is now two years, Sire, since your majesty, as the father of the people, determined to contribute to their happiness, swearing freely, and of your own will, to the political Constitution of the Spanish monarchy. On the memorable day when your majesty took a step so eminently glorious, all those Spaniards who love their king and their liberty delivered themselves up to the most flattering hopes: an event, as grand as unexpected,

astonished Europe, overthrew the enemies of mankind, and compressed the fiercest passions. Who was not then ready to believe, that it was the moment the best chosen, and the best combined, to secure for ever the felicity, the glory, the grandeur, and the power of the nation, which appeared to be dying and in despair?—But, Sire, we are, alas! very far from having reaped the advantages which that happy moment promised us. Soon was developed the dreadful design of arresting the progress of liberty and intelligence: the most innocent and the most legal assemblies were denounced as criminal, and the most illustrious patriots were persecuted with deadly hatred.—Sire, the Spanish nation regards its liberty as attacked, seeing with what slowness those who openly combated it are proceeded against, and the insolence of the enemies of its Constitution, in speaking openly of their sinister projects, and in chanting already their next victory.—Sire, the Spanish nation sees, with discontent and bitterness, the administration of some of its provinces confided to inexperienced hands, to individuals who are not liked by the people. The impunity of real criminals, the unjust and arbitrary prosecutions, produce great scandal, augment the anxiety of the good, and may have melancholy consequences. And what will be the danger to the public tranquillity, if to these distrusts which afflict the nation, to these fears which surround it, to these discontents which devour it, should be joined the machinations and the efforts of persons who unfortunately have most influence on the simple class, and deceive the nation?—The cortes point out to you, Sire, those ministers of the sanctuary, those ambitious prelates, those men, who, having quitted the world and its interests, to consecrate themselves to prayer and to virtue, now trample under foot the morality of the gospel, the spirit of true religion, and the doctrine of their divine Master, abusing the august and sacred functions of the priesthood, to sow superstition and disobedience.—All that we have stated to you, Sire, is but too fatally proved by the different factions which appear simultaneously in Catalonia; where the events are of such a nature, that it is horrible to recall them, and the pen refuses to narrate them.—When the tranquillity of the state is on the point

of being entirely annihilated, if any prompt and efficacious remedy can be suggested, the cortes would be wanting in the most sacred of their duties, which is to labour for the preservation and the happiness of the heroic and unfortunate nation which they represent, if they were not to address your majesty, with all due respect, but with the energy which is suitable to the deputies of a free people, to pray, that, with a strong hand, the roots of so many misfortunes, of so many dangers, may be torn up; giving, with all the vigour and the power granted by the law, a new and strong impulse to the government, in order that it may proceed with more harmony in unison with public opinion, which rules the world, and the progress of which men can never arrest.—To consolidate that opinion, Sire, which only now consists in loving the Constitution to which we have sworn, and which will be consolidated by frankness and good faith, all Spaniards should be persuaded that their government is identified with the cause of liberty, and that the throne and the national representation form an indissoluble league, a barrier of brass, against which would be broken the projects and conspiracies of all those, who, under whatever mask, wish to despoil us of the valuable treasure of our guarantees.—Let the people see power confided to men who love the public liberty; let the entire nation see that the title and virtues of a true patriot form the only right, the only way, to the presence of your majesty, to deserve favour and obtain honours; and that all the rigour of justice and royal indignation may fall on the wicked, who dare to profane your majesty's august and sacred name, to oppress the country and liberty. This is what the cortes expect and desire. They supplicate your majesty to cause those apprehensions to cease, of which we are the victims, and to prevent the evils with which we are threatened, by ordering that the volunteer national militia may be immediately augmented and armed throughout the kingdom; for the citizens, armed for the defence of their homes and their liberty, are the firmest supports of the Constitution; that, with equal promptitude, the permanent army may be organized, that army, so worthy of the gratitude of your majesty and of the country, and whose exploits and virtues

are the admiration of the universe. At the same time, the cortes hope that your majesty will make known to all foreign governments which directly or indirectly wish to interfere in our domestic affairs, that the nation is not in a situation to receive laws; that it has strength and resources to cause them to be respected; and that if it has been enabled to defend its independence and its king with glory, it is with the same glory, and with still greater efforts, that it will always defend its king and its liberty.—The cortes are persuaded that your majesty will adopt the most energetic measures to repress the misconduct of functionaries who trespass on and abuse their powers, and to exterminate the factious wherever they may appear. The cortes flatter themselves, that, with regard to ecclesiastics and prelates who preach fanaticism and rebellion, your majesty will take measures so energetic and so efficacious, that they will disappear, terrified, from the soil of Spain, never to return to blow the fire of discord and light up the torches of superstition.—The cortes supplicate your majesty to carry into execution these measures, which seem to them to be now indispensable, without prejudice to those which the attributes of your majesty may dictate, to secure public order, and consolidate the safety of the state.—The cortes hope, also, that your majesty will strictly unite yourself to the national representation, which is only actuated by the desire of rendering for ever stable and inviolable the throne of your majesty, and the Constitution which governs us, and which the general and extraordinary cortes promulgated in 1812. Strong by means of this union, let us labour in concert for the happiness of this heroic nation, and to render unalterable its repose, its holy laws, and its glory.”

The following is the reply of the king to the message of the cortes, presented by the secretary of state, in the sitting of the 20th of June.—

“I have received, with the greatest satisfaction, the message which the cortes have addressed to me, in which are combined their respect for the constitutional throne, and their desire to contribute to the happiness of the monarchy. The perspective which the restoration of the con-

stitutional regime in 1820 presented, was far from being flattering; but it was not difficult to foresee, by consulting the history of nations, that the distance was immense between the proclamation of liberty and the power of consolidating it, and that time alone, aided by prudence and constancy, could correct the accumulated abuses of ages, arrange under an uniform plan the different branches of the administration, and bring the opinions, the manners, and the interests of the nation, to the level of political institutions. It does not depend upon the government to precipitate the natural course of things, nor to avoid the evils which are inseparable from grave and difficult reforms: but I do not hesitate to assure the cortes, that I shall employ energetically all the means, faculties, and rights, which the fundamental law gives me, to secure its religious observance, and to smooth down the obstacles opposed to its consolidation. I depend upon the co-operation of the cortes, to attain an end so important,—upon the wisdom and perseverance which characterize the Spanish people—upon the enthusiasm and bravery of the army and the militia—upon the influence of public opinion, and the support of the immense majority of the nation;—viewing with satisfaction, amid the grief which is excited in me by the events which agitate some parts of Spain, that experience justifies the full motives of my confidence. I promise myself, with the resources which are decreed by the cortes, and the means which are within the power of government, to see, in a short time, tranquillity established in Spain, and the attempts of the enemies of the Constitution entirely frustrated. In this manner we shall prove the firmness of the constitutional regime, without having recourse to extraordinary means, often little necessary, sometimes dangerous, and always a proof of the impotence of the existing laws. In vain shall the sacred name of religion be invoked to seduce the foolish; in vain shall an attempt be made to confound the banner of loyalty with the standard of rebellion: the people will be docile to the voice of the monarch; and, on the contrary supposition, the sword of the law will drive within the path of duty those who would persist in a criminal error. The cortes may rest assured, that, while I shall labour for the maintenance of

tranquillity, the principal foundation of the internal prosperity of states, I shall cause to be respected its dignity and its rights in our external relations, being convinced that it is impossible to attack the independence of a nation, without leading to disastrous effects on the power and honour of the sovereign. I am supremely happy, that, in present circumstances, while the spirit of sedition is active in all senses to mislead the simple inhabitants of our plains, and to provoke dangerous altercations, that the message of the cortes has produced me a public and solemn occasion to reiterate the expression of my sentiments, that the Spanish nation may consider the rights of the constitutional throne as a sure guarantee of its liberty and its glory.—FERDINAND.”

From the general tenor of the above communication, made by the cortes to the executive, it seems evident, that they were apprised of the magnitude of the dangers with which they were surrounded, as far at least as respected the machinations of the avowed enemies of the Constitution. It does not appear, however, that they apprehended the explosion which in a few days was to burst over their heads; I allude to the events of the 1st of July, when the troops surrounding the king's person were to make a direct attack on the liberties of the country. This must be considered a remarkable epoch in the history of the Spanish revolution; but before I enter upon it, and to relieve the monotony of a narrative whose general features present but few incidents which command striking variety, I shall introduce, in the close of the present chapter, a portrait of the Spanish nation, drawn by a distinguished foreigner, who lately visited that country, and had an opportunity of painting from the life.

“Every country possesses a number of *originals*; but the people of Spain are all original: they resemble no other nation, nor is it possible to define them. The European public fancy they can become acquainted with the Spanish character by the perusal of histories and romances, although both have given but very imperfect notions on the subject. Don Quixote and Gil Blas may be said to describe the manners and customs of the people, rather than their real character; while the history of Spain, like all other histories, portray the bad passions of princes,

rather than the qualities of their subjects. Who does not expect to find hypocrisy, espionage, and superstition, deeply rooted amongst all classes of a people which has been governed by priests and the Inquisition for the last three hundred years? Yet this is very far from being the case: it would be difficult, if not impossible, to name a country wherein so few hypocrites are to be found, if we except such places as the royal chapel, where sinners meet to beat their breasts in token of false contrition, under the very eyes of the sovereign. Even the monks have more ferocity than deception. As to spies and informers, they are held in the greatest abhorrence here. The late infamous government was extremely anxious to organize a police system on the model of various others scattered about Europe, more especially that of France and Austria; but the plan could not be carried into effect, for want of instruments sufficiently base and abandoned to put it into execution. Almost all writers represent the Spaniards as being ridiculously superstitious: this opinion is about as well-founded as would be that of a reader of 'Don Quixote' who supposed every body in Spain was a knight-errant. Great care should always be taken to distinguish between superstition and intolerance: if the latter error, or rather crime, be laid to the charge of Spain, I am sorry I cannot defend her. There are, unhappily, too many witnesses to prove the fact; Moors, Jews, Americans,—nay, the Constitution itself, which declares Catholicism to be *the only true religion!* The legislators of 1812 were obliged to pay this humiliating tribute to universal prejudice.

"There are now (1821) no less than a hundred and eighty churches at Madrid, ninety at Seville, and an equal proportion in all the other large cities; there were also above three thousand convents in Spain; and yet the people are not so full of religious habits as in Italy. You do not, for instance, see half so many Madonnas, saints, angels, and devils, at every corner, in the towns of Spain, as are so conspicuous at Florence, Genoa, Milan, Naples, and Venice; nor so many sanctuaries, crosses, and crucifixes, on all the paths and highways, as in Lombardy. On Sunday, the people do not go and shut themselves up in church-yards

and chapels, as in England; nor do they count half so many rosaries as in Italy. Having seen the ceremony of *Corpus Domini* since my arrival at Madrid, I can assure you that the most brilliant public walk of Italy is neither so gay nor amusing: the devotion might have been inwardly felt, but it certainly did not appear in the countenances of the multitude. I should even have been almost justified in accusing the patron saint of vanity, for he was placed in the midst of an elegant parterre of flowers, ornamented with festoons of silver lace, as if the pageant had been intended for the celebration of a wedding. When the monks excited the people to rise against the French, in 1812, by declaring them heretics, the former were abolished by the cortes, and both them and the people were tranquil. Lately, when the pope refused to grant bulls to the two bishops named by government, a statesman, who was well acquainted with his country, said, 'The court of Rome had better take care; it does not perhaps know, that the people of Spain may, before ten years elapse, end by shaking off the papal yoke altogether.' I again repeat, that this nation is undefinable.

"Who would not also imagine, that, after having lived under a despotic sceptre ever since the reign of Charles the Fifth, the people of Spain were become mean, corrupt, and grovelling? Such a supposition would be as incorrect as the former: the Spaniard has lived as proudly under slavery as Charles the Twelfth at Bender, and has emerged from it more pure than any nation of Europe. A Spaniard will bow to one who is richer than himself, from politeness, but never through a feeling of inferiority. When he goes before a person of rank, you do not see him bend to the earth, nor is he either embarrassed or confused; he proceeds as every one ought who feels the dignity of his nature. There are many parts of the Peninsula, in which the ears of a Spaniard were never struck by the sound of '*your excellency*.'

"The same difficulty of communication that impeded the circulation of knowledge, also prevented the progress of corruption. Excepting a few grandees, scarcely any of the rich live in the villages; so that the eyes of the poor are

not offended by the presence of luxury and parade. Thus it is, too, that the people are not accustomed to the language of arrogance and pride so prevalent in other countries. I once ventured to raise my voice a little above the ordinary pitch to a postilion, who seemed to be as indifferent about the safety of my neck as his own; when his companions immediately reminded me, that I was no longer in Italy, where the people are treated like negroes. It is needless to add, that I took the hint. A péasant who had furnished some supplies to the British army during the late war, one day attended at the head-quarters of the English general Beresford, to be paid. After having dismissed several other Portuguese claimants, this officer told the Spaniard, who came last, to withdraw, for he had no time to attend to him. Scarcely had the mandate escaped his lips, when the enraged Iberian drew a poniard from under his cloak, and flew at the general, who would infallibly have perished, had it not been for the prompt interference of those present.

“That prodigious difference between the higher and lower classes, observable in some countries, is altogether unknown in the Spanish provinces. Here there are no exclusive privileges for the rich and great in society. Spain has its follies, like other countries: there is still a good deal of Mahometan blood to be met with; and as to *genealogical*, they are much more numerous than *fruit, trees*: but you look in vain for what is called the *fashionable circle*. Thus it is, that the less custom withdraws us from our natural wants, the less inequality do we find among mankind. The cloak, oil, segar, *siesta*, and bull feasts, place all the inhabitants of Spain nearly on a level.

“Those travellers who represent a Spaniard enveloped in his cloak up to the eyes, with a frowning aspect, and silent, as one who meditates some act of vengeance against a rival, have formed an erroneous opinion. It is true, revenge is not only a pleasure, but also a duty; since he who suffers an affront to pass unpunished, becomes himself an object of public scorn: but revenge is not that which engrosses his thoughts. When I see a Castilian, wrapped up in his mantle, and standing still for several hours without speaking,

or appearing to suffer the least tedium, I am rather inclined to regard him as a being who depends neither on men nor events; who, though he may despise nothing, is yet indifferent to fate, and a stranger to fear. Neither honorary decorations, fine uniforms, laced coats, nor powdered wigs, excite his notice or respect; woman alone is an object of curiosity and homage with a Spaniard.

“Spanish pride is neither the vanity of France, the bombast of Germany, nor the feudal ferocity of Russia. It is not exercised by one class towards another; it does not exist among any particular cast, but is general throughout the whole population. The royal family, grandees, and ministers, are alike affable; it is the people who are proud: so that what is a vice in an individual, becomes a virtue in the nation. Spaniards will not yet admit having discomfited Napoleon by the assistance of the English: they are more ready to praise the valour of their enemies than that of their allies. In 1808, Spain was nearly overrun by the French armies; Cadiz and Corunna were the only points that resisted. There were neither troops, arms, nor money, when General Moore presented himself before these places, with twenty thousand men, and ten millions in specie: yet his proffered aid was rejected at both places. Where, except among the heroes of Ariosto, are such romantic acts to be found? The Romans boasted of selling the camp of Hannibal, while he besieged the city: in 1811, when Cadiz was closely invested by a French army, the cortes discussed and completed the constitutional code, although the enemy's shells were falling at the doors of the legislative chamber!

“One of the most extraordinary circumstances connected with the national character of Spain, is the state of abandonment in which the past fame and glories of the nation are left. There is scarcely a single history, nor even any memoirs of the late war, so prolific in great actions: people speak of it as of a matter that is out of date. It would seem, in fact, that, in the eyes of the nation at least, the traits of valour, unexampled sacrifices, and sufferings of every kind, so widely extended and patiently borne during the war of independence, were concerns of the most natural

and ordinary description. Spain has required no other recompense, nor given itself any title but that of *heroic*. This appellation is perhaps somewhat gigantic, but it offends no one; on the contrary, when France styled itself *la grande nation*, it wounded the self-love of all others, which, by a parity of reasoning, then became petty states."

CHAPTER XI.

Formidable Appearances against the Constitutional Government—Fracas between some of the Guards and a Militia-man—Close of the Cortes, his Majesty's Speech, and the President's Reply—Bad Conduct of the Royal Guards, and the murder of an Officer in the Palace—Mutiny of the Guards on the 1st of July—Noble Conduct of General Morillo—The insurgent Guards encamp at the Prado—Patriotism of the National Militia—Perturbed State of the Capital from the 2d to the 6th—Alarming Rumours—Intercourse between the Cortes and the King—Movement of the Guards on the 6th repulsed—Attack upon the Capital on the Morning of the 7th—Account of the sanguinary Conflict—The Mutineers overthrown—Pursuit—Inquiries into the Causes of the Rebellion—Address of the Municipality of Madrid to the King—Note of the foreign Ambassadors concerning the personal Safety of the King, with an Answer to it.

ALTHOUGH it had, during the progress of the revolutionary struggle, been decidedly clear, that the great body of the Spanish people were friendly to the constitutional code, it must again be repeated, that numbers of the aristocracy, and a still larger proportion of the clerical orders, were inveterately opposed to it. New life and vigour were given to the hopes of the latter, by the events which had appeared during the spring, and early part of the summer. A formidable body had been organized, under the appellation of the Army of the Faith, who, it was morally certain, received secret encouragement from the French court, and were assisted with the aid of French gold. It was still more palpable, the court of the Thuilleries were actuated by an unfriendly policy towards the new order of things, from the undissembled patronage which was given in France to Spanish refugees, who had fled their country to escape the punishment due to their political offences, and, especially, by the French govern-

ment not only refusing to disband their sanatory corps, but increasing its numbers. The disaffected became more bold and resolute, in proportion as their hopes of success brightened; and it was not without reason surmised, that the price of corruption had found its way into the hands of the royal guards. An explosion was at hand—a crisis, which was more important in itself, and which led to more interesting results than any other that had occurred during the annals of the revolution.

Towards the end of June, a deputation of the cortes waited upon his majesty, to receive his commands relative to the close of the session; when it was finally arranged, that that ceremony should take place on Sunday, the 30th of June.

On the evening of Saturday, the 29th of June, when his majesty went out to his promenade, a militia-man, provoked, according to some, by the seditious cries of a woman, or, according to others, without any provocation at all, broke forth into most violent expressions, derogatory to the person of the king, which excited the displeasure of a private and a drummer of the royal guard, who gave him two blows. This occurrence, which, under any other circumstances, would have excited little attention, was bruited abroad in all parts of the capital, embellished and exaggerated in the most alarming terms. The prompt precautions taken by the authorities, however, prevented the public disturbers from giving effect to their criminal suggestions; but it seemed to excite between the body of the militia and the royal guard the most deadly animosity.

On the 30th, his majesty proceeded in state to the cortes, accompanied by the queen and infantas, to perform the august ceremony of terminating their legislative labours. When his majesty arrived at the hall, he was received by a deputation of that body, and delivered the following speech.—

“SENORS DEPUTIES,—In performing the solemn act of closing the cortes in the present legislature, I cannot omit to declare how grateful to me have been their endeavours to establish a becoming economy in the various branches of the public administration, and to supply to my govern-

ment the resources indispensable to the necessities of the state. The advantages which must result from the administrative system of the finances, in virtue of the recent division of the Spanish territory; the greater vigour in the collection of the revenue, which must follow from the decrees that have been passed; and the simplicity and uniformity with which the system of calculation and reason is to be established, to satisfy the people with the legitimate employment of their sacrifices;—afford me the hope, that a striking improvement is taking place in a branch as important to the prosperity of the nation, as necessary to give my government proper vigour and energy. The consolidation of the credit of a state depends upon the combination of so many causes, that it is not possible to determine beforehand the degrees of its rise or decay: but the cortes have passed important resolutions, which cannot fail to inspire into natives, as well as foreigners, security and confidence; preserving untouched, at all hazards, that character of probity and good faith which has been always a distinguishing feature of the nation, and entrusting to the individual interests of the creditors of the state themselves, vigilance over the funds destined to the pay and extinction of the national debt. The cortes have decreed the reform of the standing army, and acceded to my proposal for authorizing the government to employ beyond the bounds of their respective provinces a certain number of regiments of the national militia. Looking at this measure in all its relations, both political and economical, and desiring to alleviate as much as possible the charges of the public service, circumstances will successively determine the exercise of this authority, as necessity may dictate, or prudence advise. With not less temperance and economy, my government shall exercise the other powers with which the cortes have thought proper to widen, for a time, the sphere of its action; thus presenting a memorable example, on the one hand, of the great confidence of the deputies of the nation in the government, and, on the other, of a corresponding feeling in the government, to make a prudent and mild use of the authority with which it is entrusted. If such is my purpose respecting the powers which admit of a certain undefined latitude in their own

nature, and in favour of circumstances, it would be superfluous to declare to the cortes the steady and circumspect conduct with which my government will proceed in the exercise of its natural faculties, to avoid in any case a departure from the line of demarkation drawn by the laws. But, resolved at the same time to sustain their empire, and to prevent their violation under any motive or pretext whatsoever, I shall exercise the full measure of my constitutional authority to guarantee public tranquillity, and to secure to all Spaniards the peaceful enjoyment of their rights. It is to me supremely distressing, that the fire of insurrection has been kindled in the provinces which composed Old Catalonia; but notwithstanding the fact, that the poverty of some districts, and the simplicity of their inhabitants, have made them serve as the instruments and the victims of the most criminal seduction, the good spirit which reigns in all the capitals and industrious towns—the intrepidity of the regular army, the enthusiasm of the militia, and the disposition which in general the people display at seeing their liberty and their firesides endangered in one and the same struggle—all these circumstances inspire a just confidence that the plots of the disaffected will be frustrated, the deluded undeceived, and the stability of the constitutional regime confirmed by this new proof of its power. Desiring all to join their efforts for an end so important, I hope, Senors Deputies, that, on returning to your homes, after having fulfilled the august functions with which you were charged, you will persevere in contributing to the public good, enlightening the opinion of the people, endeavouring to produce conciliation, establishing by your persuasion and your influence that just confidence between the subject and the government, which increases respect for the laws, adds vigour to authority, and contributes to protect, under its beneficent shade, the rights of individuals.”

The president of the cortes replied in the following terms—

“It was the duty of the cortes to procure for their constituents the greatest sum of good, at the expense of the least public sacrifice; and they have heard, with much pleasure, that their labours have merited the acceptance of

your majesty. Agriculture being almost annihilated, industry disheartened, and trade paralyzed, it was necessary to pare down the public expenditure with the most severe economy; and although there is reason to apprehend that the measure has caused that kind of disgust which springs from offended private interest, it has furnished an opportunity to the Spaniards of presenting to the admiration of the world new proofs of their patriotism and their virtues. Such proofs they every day supply, of their love for liberty, of their respect for the constitutional throne, and of their hatred to every kind of foreign domination and dependence; but our political institutions, which excite the envy and emulation of foreigners, find likewise enemies among the Spaniards themselves, seduced by malignity, and that horrible fanaticism which so often has been fatal and destructive to the human race. The cortes could not but allow the necessity of conceding to the government of your majesty efficacious assistance and ample authority, to render its action prompt and vigorous. They do not renounce the glory of having anticipated, in some sense, the wishes of government, in order to give a testimony of their ardent zeal for the public good, and of the intimate union which reigns between the two first powers of the state. Let these means be deposited in the august hands of your majesty—strong and powerful instruments to make the Spanish name be pronounced every where with attachment and respect, to secure quickly the re-establishment of internal order, and to guarantee public tranquillity. Every thing may be hoped for from the paternal love of your majesty, and the vigilance of your enlightened government. The heroic Spanish nation entertains such a hope;—and its expectations shall not be vain!"

The event of the 29th, in the arcade of the palace, which related to the militia-man who was pursued and wounded by two soldiers of the guard, gave a sad presage of the succeeding day. Accordingly, at the hour appointed for the departure of his majesty to meet the cortes, groups, composed of the enemies of the constitutional system, in whose countenances were observed joy and defiance, took their station at the foot of the principal staircase. His

majesty descended, and, at the moment of his entering his coach, these persons shouted repeatedly, and with enthusiasm, "*Viva el Rey neto!*" "God save the unadulterated, or absolute, King!" Some of the same gang introduced themselves into the ranks of the guards, and excited them to utter the same cry. At the same time, others cried out, "Long live the constitutional king!" One deluded person uttered, "*Viva el Rey absoluto!*" and was immediately arrested by the authorities. This had scarcely happened, when about eighteen or twenty soldiers of the guard approached the group who were shouting to the constitutional king, and, drawing their swords, threatened their unarmed fellow-citizens. While this was going forward, his majesty returned from the cortes, and entered his palace. The crowd was great, and the numbers who shouted "The constitutional king!" increased. A portion of grenadier guards attacked the multitude, and inflicted several wounds and bruises. The officers exerted themselves in vain to restrain their soldiers; their exertions deserve the highest praise: Casasola, one of them, was trampled upon and severely hurt, while exerting himself to maintain order. The captain-general, who was confined to his bed by indisposition, hearing what was going forward, rose, mounted his horse, and appeared at his post; and the political chief spared no fatigue to restore order. The excellent first-lieutenant of the guard, Don Mamerto Landaburu,* whose virtues and love of liberty were well known, was barbarously assassinated by some of his own soldiers, whom he was endeavouring to restrain.

* The assassination of this individual, perpetrated within the walls of the palace, created most violent murmurs among the inhabitants of the capital. From an address of the municipality of Madrid to the king, the following passage pretty strongly marks their sense of the transaction, and the view they entertained of the motive: "Sire, let what will be said of public excitement, thus far Spain has seen no blood flow but that of *Liberals*. The militia-man, hastily wounded yesterday, was a patriot; he who to-day received a mortal wound, as well as those who were sabred, were *Liberals*. The first-lieutenant of your royal guard, M. Landaburu, whose blood yet smokes in your palace, was massacred by these same soldiers. The virtues and civism of this unfortunate man rendered him one of the most worthy patriots in the nation. Can it be believed that such acts are the works of chance?"

On the 1st, there occurred nothing worthy of consideration; but, towards evening, there were observed, in the quarters of some battalions of the guard, symptoms of sedition and insubordination. The body of officers who had assembled in their respective quarters, could not restrain their troops. The constitutional junta had assembled likewise, and waited for the resolution of his majesty for an energetic representation, to repress the tumult. Three battalions of infantry and a squadron of cavalry, of the national militia, were under arms, resolved to defend liberty, if it should be attacked. It was about eleven o'clock, when the guard of the militia announced that the two battalions of the guards, who were in the quarter of St. Isabel, were in movement. The militia remained within their quarters, determined to be passive, if no act of hostility took place on the other side. These two battalions proceeded to join other two, and having obtained an accession of various parties of the same corps, who abandoned their posts in the garrison, forced the gate of San Fernando, and proceeded to the parade of the guards. His excellency Don P. Morillo, commandant of the district, who displayed on this occasion a heroism worthy of Greek and Roman fame, sallied forth to meet the deluded men, and to dissuade them from their rash enterprise.—“The king,” they replied, “has fled to the Prado, and we wish to defend him.”—“That you may be convinced to the contrary,” said the general, “and may learn how much you are seduced and deceived, let four soldiers from each company come along with me, and they will see how his majesty remains secure in his royal palace, and how highly he disapproves of the conduct of the revolters.”—The troops agreed, and the general conducted the delegates even to the king’s chamber, where his majesty told them, that he confided in the attachment which they manifested to his royal person, but that it was indispensable they should return to subordination, that they should obey the authorities, and re-establish order; concluding, that he wished they should return to their companions with these exhortations from him.—General Morillo mounted his horse, and returned to the battalion in the parade; where, upon being seen, he was immediately saluted with cries of “Long

live our general! Long live Morillo!" But as he heard, also, among these acclamations, voices calling out, "Long live the absolute king!" he replied, with remarkable firmness, "No, not so; the whole army, and all the nation, have sworn, for the good of his majesty himself, and the welfare of his people, to observe the Constitution; and I shall support it at all hazards, and in the face of every danger."—"Let your excellency place yourself at our head," they replied, "and you will give us one day of glory, by destroying that infamous race, (the *Descamisados*,) who have endeavoured to destroy your reputation. Read the *Imparcial* of this morning, and you will see the crimes of the whole Liberal faction, with their wicked intentions."—"In vain," replied Morillo, with great calmness, "in vain would you require me to stain my career by such an outrage on the Constitution which we have sworn to maintain. I can easily despise those pedants, who engage in writing more from hunger than from patriotism. What would be said, if I, who have grown old in battles, and have procured for my country some days of glory, should place myself at the head of mutinous troops, to attack a people who confide in our loyalty and honour. Finally, then, listen to the order of your chief, otherwise I must abandon you."—It appeared then, that some of them were proceeding to detain him; but his excellency, despising the risk which was indicated by certain seditious cries, turned the reins of his horse, and proceeded at a regular pace to the house where the king was: his majesty had there conferred upon him, *pro tempore*, the command of the two regiments of royal guards.

The junta had now taken measures, and had collected eight hundred muskets, which had been abandoned in the quarters of the guards, whence they had been stolen by the lowest of the people. In the mean time, all the garrison was under arms, and animated with the best spirit. On passing in front of the hall of the junta, the squadron of cavalry *del principe* cried out, "Long live the liberties of our country, and perish the perjured mutineers!" This cry spread like an electric spark among the troops: the disbanded officers, the ex-guards of St. Jeronino, and the greater part of the

officers on half-pay, presented themselves, and received the muskets from the junta. Many of the country people, and the *employes* of all classes, also armed themselves. Generals Ballasteros, Alva, and Zavas, Brigadier Don Juan Pallaria, and other chiefs, as much known for their bravery as their military skill and patriotism, hastened to encourage the authorities, and to give new proofs of the spirit with which they were animated. At eight o'clock, General Riego arrived in the capital; who, observing the danger which threatened liberty, came in haste to its defence, swearing to die for the laws, and proclaiming to his fellow-citizens his unalterable love for constitutional order.

The mutinous battalions remained for some hours on the parade, and then retired to the hill of the Prado.*

* Of this public place, chosen by the mutinous guards as the scene of their rebellion, Laborde gives the following description: "Madrid has several promenades, but, unluckily, they are all so situated, either without the walls, or on their last confines, that a considerable distance must be traversed, before they can be approached or enjoyed. The Prado is the most frequented promenade, and the only one within the city: it is the same Prado so celebrated in Spanish novels and romances, so often the busy scene of amorous plots and political stratagems, of oaths and treasons, ecstasy and despair, pleasures and assassinations; it may be questioned, whether it is not more indebted for its celebrity to these romantic adventures, than to its own natural attraction of beauty. Originally, its ground was unequal, without trees, ornaments, or decorations: the proximity of the court, then at Buen-Retiro, drew to it many visitors; the little prominences on its surface afforded facilities to the forming of a rendezvous; its extent secured the parties from observation; its distance from other places facilitated the execution of clandestine plots and intrigues. It was thus become a suspicious, and, in the case of politics, a dangerous spot, when Charles the Third caused the ground to be levelled, planted with trees, watered, and embellished; and the same process by which it was rendered one of the finest promenades in Europe, has converted a theatre of intrigue to a scene of tranquillity, and changed the haunt of despair to the shrine of pleasure. So completely is it changed, that, of its former character, it now retains only its gentler destination, that of being consecrated to the secrets of love. It commences at the convent of Atocha, passes before the gate of that name, and forms, on its return, a right angle. At a smaller distance it makes another curve, then lengthens to the gate of Alcala, from whence it extends to the Franciscan gate, and thus forms an enclosure of no inconsiderable part of the town. A broad avenue, planted with lofty trees, with two collateral alleys, extend from one extremity to

Their force was about 1500 men; among whom there were very few officers or subalterns, although some had been forced to join them, and some remained with them, in the hope of preventing greater excesses. In the course of the day, several officers and soldiers left them; and it is believed they would have been deserted by many more, were it not for the threats of those, who, conceiving themselves too much compromised already, desired to increase the number of their accomplices.

During the whole of the 2d, Madrid was in a state of strong agitation. Rumours were circulated, that the mutinous guards were on the point of receiving considerable accessions of troops; and the most frightful insinuations were industriously circulated, that the king was secretly plotting an extension of the disaffection, and that he meditated an escape from the capital. The latter rumour created an alarming sensation, and called forth, from the political chief of Madrid, a proclamation, in which the report was adverted to, and contradicted in the most unequivocal terms. "The report that his majesty is going to leave the capital," says the chief, "is entirely the offspring of malevolence;

the other; the former is designed for carriages, the latter for walking. In some spots, new plantations form other alleys and promenades, intersecting, at certain intervals, the avenues already described, or separated from them by a broad esplanade; these newer scenes are also provided with the accommodations of chairs and benches, and embellished with marble fountains, and the usual appendages of statues and sculptural ornaments, which have, in general, an air of magnificence. Buen-Retiro and the botanic garden are agreeable objects; but, charming as this promenade appears, something yet remains to be supplied by the imagination. In the view to the left, the eye of taste yet requires some improvements: the erection of handsome houses, the interposition of beautiful parterres, enlivened by coffee-rooms, animated groups, and amusing spectacles. At present, though the concourse of people is often immense, the scene is uniformly dull and monotonous. The ladies constantly roll through the grand avenue, without alighting from their carriages: the exercise of walking is confined to women of the lower ranks, whose only garb is black, and who always envelope the head in a mantle, a sort of large veil, white or black, which conceals the face, and flows over the shoulders: from this scrupulous regard to national costume, there is no variety, no gaiety, no animation, none of the attractions which create so many sources of pleasure in the public resorts of other countries."

and I am authorized to state, that the king, although he had resolved to proceed to the royal palace at St. Ildefonso, before the late events, has agreed, in consequence of them, to suspend his journey, being firmly resolved to remain at Madrid till public tranquillity is completely restored." Another rumour, for which there appeared some foundation, and which tended to throw additional suspicions on the motives of his majesty, was, that he had insisted that orders should be despatched to General Espinosa, not to advance to Madrid, it being known that he was marching on the capital at the head of 2500 troops, for the purpose of defeating the objects of the mutinous guards.

From the 2d to the 4th, no effectual steps were adopted by the government to put an end to the present unnatural state of things. Some attempts, indeed, were made to induce the rebels to lay down their arms, but of such a feeble and inoperative kind, as to be treated by the mutineers rather as symptoms of fear than as the requirements of authority.*

The ministers of Ferdinand at length perceived, that, before they could advance with an imposing influence in destroying the confederacy, it was absolutely necessary that the king should be brought, in some explicit manner, to make known the expression of his own personal wishes for the suppression of the rebellion. With this view, the

* It is very certain, that, from the beginning, the leaders of the mutiny calculated upon the personal protection of his majesty, as is apparent from the following representation sent to the king from the camp of the Prado, on the 2d of July: "SIRE,—The chiefs, officers, subalterns, and others, composing the first and the third battalions of the 1st regiment of infantry of the royal guard, and the second and third battalions of the 2d regiment of the same guard, most humbly represent to your majesty, that the multiplied outrages which they have suffered with the greatest patience from the authorities, have, at length, so exasperated the soldiers, that they are convinced there is a design to disarm them: it has not been possible to restrain their offended courage. In this position, the undersigned, in order to keep the battalions together, have thought proper not to abandon the soldiers, convinced that they will always remain faithful to your majesty, and your laws. Nor will the undersigned retire from their present post, until your majesty deigns to order that the royal guard shall receive a satisfactory guarantee. To force they will never yield, for they prefer death to dishonour.—(*Signed, in the names of all,*) COUNT DE MOY."

permanent deputation of the cortes, on the 4th, communicated to the king, that, if his majesty did not that very evening escape from the captivity in which he was held, the nomination of a regency would be necessary, according to the provisions of the Constitution. His majesty replied, that he had given necessary orders for the distribution of the battalions of the Prado into several garrisons; that, as soon as this measure should have been carried into effect, the two battalions who occupied the palace should march out to be stationed in their barracks, leaving the usual guard; and that if all this was not done, the deputation might act according to the text of the Constitution.

The soldiers of the palace intimated to the king, that they began to feel distrust with respect to the halberdiers who guarded the doors of the interior apartments, and entreated his majesty to allow soldiers of the battalions to be substituted for them. This proposal alarmed the king: in vain he endeavoured to make them listen to reason. It was at last agreed upon, that each sentinel of the halberdiers should be watched over by one from the battalions.

Communications of a quite different nature took place between the king and his council of state, which was assembled during several hours. His majesty reduced his letter to these points: first, to demand guarantees for his life, threatened by a republican and anarchical faction; second, to ask of the council its advice in regard to the means to be taken to make those soldiers return to their duty with honour, who had been led astray for a moment by the insults heaped upon them by the *Liberaux*; third, to censure the conduct of General Riego, who had wished to seize upon the command of the troops; fourth, to inquire into the spirit which reigned in the council.—The council answered: first, that they could not offer any guarantee to his majesty for the preservation of his life, since it was his majesty himself who had willingly placed himself in the hands of a lawless band of assassins, and that the constitutional troops would already have obtained possession of the palace, if they had not feared that they might endanger the life of the king, by exposing him to the spite of the factious; secondly, that the only measure to be taken with the battalions of

the guard was to punish them according to the rigour of military law, and that the word *honour* ought not to be pronounced in speaking of disorderly soldiers, traitors to their country and their oaths; thirdly, that the conduct of General Riego did not warrant the strange accusation made against him; that his majesty had doubtless been led into error by the calumnies published in the *Imparcial*, a journal paid by the Holy Alliance; fourthly, that the council of state had taken an oath to the Constitution, which all its members would sustain to the last gasp. The king said, in his letter, that the social compact was dissolved, and that he had again entered upon his rights: to which the council replied, that if the compact was broken, it was not the fault of the nation; and that his majesty had no rights but those which the Constitution granted him. The council finished, by conjuring the king to take some prompt resolution, in order to rescue himself from his present dangerous and humiliating situation.

By break of day on the morning of the 6th, a movement was observed at the Prado, among the mutinous guards, who reconnoitered the *Puerta de Hierro*, where the advanced posts of the constitutional forces were stationed. They were charged by the valiant regiment of Almanza, and driven back with loss. On their return to their positions, they shot a very distinguished officer, whom they had taken with them by force, and who several times wished to escape. During the remaining part of the day, the military posts within the city were strengthened, and the militia remained under arms.

At length, the morning of the decisive day arrived. The battalions of the rebel guards had fixed upon the 7th for making an attack upon the capital, securing to themselves the person of the monarch, and overturning the present order of things. At about a quarter before three in the morning, there was firing heard in the street *de la Luna*, the result of an encounter with the vanguard of the mutinous battalions, who had by stealth introduced themselves, under the protection of darkness, into the capital. The battalion of half-pay officers, under the command of Don Evarista San Miguel, both in the same street, and in that of *Fountain*

del Cura, exerted themselves so as to introduce confusion into the guards, who fled, leaving their muskets, knapsacks, and equipage. At the same time, the square of the Constitution was attacked by a brisk fire on three points; but the brave national militia, and the no less brave national artillery, under the command of the valiant Captains Bayona and Ribera, defended the entrances into this square, and repulsed the insurgents, who, with the subversive shouts of "Long live the absolute king!" had directed their attacks upon the square: they were forced to fly precipitately, and in the greatest disorder, leaving their wounded and dead scattered in the streets. In the mean time, the commandant-general, Don Pablo Morillo, who happened to be in the park of artillery at San Gil, was informed of the object of this sudden and unexpected attack; for sudden and unexpected it must be called, since nobody thought that the inhabitants of Madrid, its militia, and troops, could be attacked in so unjust and treacherous a manner. In this situation, then, a soldier of the guards presented himself as a prisoner to his excellency, saying, that the above-mentioned battalions from the Prado had entered Madrid, by forcing the gates of San Bernardino and San Fernando. This intelligence inflamed the mind of his excellency, and of the brave men who stood by him, to such a pitch, that their indignation cannot be expressed. The general, and all who were under his orders, swore anew to die or to be free; and, at the shout of "Long live the Constitution!" all prepared themselves for the conflict. At this moment, a Captain D. Lewis Mora appeared before General Morillo as a prisoner; and being asked what were the plans of the insurrectionary battalions, this person gave him to understand that they entertained hopes which had been disappointed. While this passed, and while the commandant-general saw some of the insurgent troops arriving by the royal stables, he made preparations that a battalion of the officers, and soldiers of the same guard, (who had abandoned their seditious companions, after refusing to partake in their infamous perjury, in order to follow the standard of their country,) should immediately take possession of the stables, to restrain the audacity of the insurgents, who had gone there with

the like intent, and with that of attacking a division of the park of artillery. While this was happening, a strong column of the guards, headed by their commandant Mery, had placed themselves in the *Puerta del Sol*. The brave General Ballasteros, who was in the park of artillery, as soon as he heard the first firing, obtained permission from the captain-general to attack this column, and, taking with him a piece of artillery and a battalion of militia, immediately assaulted it. The column, after a short resistance, dispersed, part by the street of Montera, and part by that of *la Arenal*, pursued by the cavalry under the command of Brigadier Pallaria: this last street was crossed by the national militia, and a cannon, which was directed against the guards. Victory was soon decided; and the rebels, routed in all directions, saw themselves under the necessity of seeking an asylum in the palace of the monarch. The valiant regiment *del Infante*, the national militia, and the artillery, confined them within the narrowest limits, obliging them to listen to terms, and pointing out his majesty as intercessor. Yet there wanted not among them instigators to a further opposition to the constitutional power; nor were the spirits of the men entirely subdued by their failure, though many of them complained, that they had been vilely deceived where they looked for support, and abandoned by the very persons who led them into the desperate enterprise.

The permanent deputation of the cortes, which, by the want of communication with the ministers of his majesty, (who were detained in the palace from the preceding day,) saw itself in the last extremity, convoked a junta, composed of two counsellors of state, two of provincial deputation, three of the constitutional municipality, and two generals of the garrison, to deliberate upon a message to be addressed to his majesty, for the purpose of putting an end to those horrors and outrages which the infamous aggression of the seditious guards had occasioned. The Marquess of Casa Sarria, accompanied by the commandants of the guards, (chiefs of the battalions who remained in the palace, and who had not taken any decided part in the insurrection,) delivered an answer from his majesty, confined to a manifestation of his desire to stop the effusion of blood, but

declaring, that it was not consistent with the dignity of his royal person that his guards should be disarmed, as it appeared to be desired. On this point, there arose a serious and violent discussion, in which the president of the deputation of the cortes, the syndical procurer of the constitutional junta of Madrid, Don Gabriel Jose Garcia, Lieutenant-general D. Jose de Zavas, Don Arias Gonsalo de Mendoza, and D. Antonio Ruiz, alcalde and regidor of the junta, Don Juan Antonio Castejon, and Senors Nunez and Florez Calderon, persons belonging to the permanent deputation, together with those of the provincial deputation, Don Roman Corona Calderon de la Barca, and the counsellors of state, Blake and Luyando, took part against the king's message. In favour of it were the Marquess of Casa Sarria, and D. Carlos Heron. It was agreed to tell his majesty, that, as a preliminary to any arrangement, it was necessary for him, in order to prove that he was at the full liberty which the direction of the business of the state required, to entrust the protection of his royal person to subjects faithful to the oaths which they had taken, and by no means to a guard which had disgraced their laurels by the most incredible perjury and the blackest perfidy. They represented, that the four battalions who had committed the hostile aggression which had so much endangered the tranquillity of the capital, and along with it the liberties of their country, should immediately surrender their arms, unless they desired to become victims to the just fury of an irritated people, and of a valiant and victorious garrison and national militia; that, with respect to the two battalions remaining in the palace, who did not appear guilty of such horrible crimes, and were only answerable for an assassination committed on the person of one of their most meritorious officers, they might be permitted to leave the capital with their arms, but divided from each other, and forced to give up for punishment those who were guilty of that assassination. The messenger of his majesty returned to the palace with this proposition of the above-mentioned junta; and his majesty having agreed with it, they gave the necessary orders to the captain-general to carry into effect this arrangement—the only one that could calm the effervescence and furious agitation which

pervaded the minds of almost all the inhabitants of the capital.

When this measure was about to be carried into effect, the battalions of the guards who were condemned to surrender their arms, took to flight, some by the Campo del Moro, and others by the gate of Segovia, in the direction of the Ceutas de Alcorcon. Immediately, two pieces of artillery, a battalion of militia, two squadrons of cavalry, and a battalion of officers, under the command of Don Evarista San Miguel, were despatched in pursuit of them. The wounded and prisoners belonging to the liberticide faction, who had endeavoured to create a horrible day of mourning for Madrid, and of everlasting affliction for all Spain, were treated by the conquerors with a generosity and compassion, as worthy of the men who love freedom, as disregarded by the wretched slaves who fight for the vile gains with which their blood is bought, and which covers them with opprobrium and ignominy. The conduct of the brave national militia, of the no less gallant regiments of the garrison and of the artillery, was above all praise. The gallant Generals Morillo and Ballasteros exhibited a valour and enthusiasm of which they have often given proofs in the field of battle. The moment the latter presented himself in front of the troops, to direct the attack which was made on the *Puerta del Sol*, he inspired such enthusiasm by his presence, as would have been enough to have overcome a whole army. It would be impossible to enumerate the distinguished actions witnessed this day; but we cannot pass on without noticing the gallantry of Colonel Scoane, who, being placed in front of a company of grenadiers, in the street Arenal, shewed such an excess of bravery, that he advanced upon the mutineers till their bayonets touched the chest of his horse, and he fell dead with the effect of five shots. It would have appeared a miracle, had this brave officer escaped with his life from such a danger. General Riego, and the gallant and patriotic Alava, animated the friends of freedom with their presence.

The insurgent guards who escaped on the 7th from the palace, at the moment when the capitulation was about to be executed, and who fled into the fields by the bridge of

Segovia, were briskly pursued by a squadron of the regiment of Almanza, and by the cavalry of the national guard, with a piece of artillery. Frequent charges were made by the cavalry, in which many of the insurgents were killed. When arrived at the pass of Alcorcon, the guards separated into three detachments, each taking a different direction. One, the most numerous of them, scaled the walls of the *Casa del Campo*, and from thence fired on the cavalry. Those insurgents who could not succeed in taking refuge in the *Casa del Campo*, were exposed to a continued pursuit. The plain was covered with the killed and wounded, and some prisoners were made. The cavalry pushed on to the village of Humera, where they halted. In that place they were reinforced by a squadron of the regiment *del Principe*, with Brigadier-general Pallaria at its head. Night was fast coming on, and this squadron, together with some detachments from the regiment of Almanza, repaired to watch the motions of the guards shut up in the *Casa del Campo*. The cavalry succeeded in gaining an entrance into this pleasure-house of the king, by a gate which opened on the fields. The insurgents occupied an advantageous position, and had formed themselves in a square, waiting for the attack. Before the cavalry drew up in order of battle, Casero, lieutenant of the guards, who accompanied them, was sent to summon the insurgents to surrender, with the assurance that their lives should be spared. The obscurity of the night, the position occupied by the guards, and the small force of the column of cavalry, all conspired to render this course a prudent one. Lieutenant Casero returned with an officer of the insurgents, bringing their consent. The fusils of the guards were formed into bundles; and, at two o'clock on the morning of the 8th, these revolted were conducted in two columns to Madrid, and there placed in confinement. Their number was three hundred and sixty soldiers, and nine officers.

The fugitives of the morning of the 7th, and those who in the evening had been unable to effect an entrance into the *Casa del Campo*, again united at the Prado, and from thence proceeded towards the Escorial. This re-union rendered it necessary, on the 9th, to send thither a column of

infantry and cavalry, with a piece of artillery, to force the revolters to submission. These troops were under the command of Brigadier Don Joseph Ruiz Torras; who despatched an officer to the Escorial, with offers of peace; which were accepted. The number of guards, prisoners at the barracks of the ex-bodyguards, was, on the morning of the 10th, eight hundred and twenty, without including the wounded in the hospitals.

On the restoration of tranquillity at Madrid, the first step was to inquire into the cause of the late revolt, and to inflict punishment on its chief instigators. The following is the manner in which government announced the resolution of the executive on this subject: "To satisfy the just impatience which the national militia and all good men have manifested, that prompt and complete justice may be exercised towards the promoters and accomplices of the late revolt, his majesty has ordered a council of war to be formed, composed of officers of the garrison and of the militia, which is empowered to take evidence, and to conclude this cause within the shortest time possible. The royal resolution was communicated this evening (July the 14th) to the national militia, with an announcement, at the same time, that the council had divided the accused into four classes: first, that of officers; secondly, that of soldiers who had been found firing; thirdly, that of those who were apprehended with arms in their hands; and fourthly, that of those who were found without arms. It was at the same time announced to the militia, that the council were of opinion this affair could be terminated in three days. The militia are at the same time apprized, that General Espinosa had proposed that the two battalions of guards, who are quartered in Viscalvaro and Laganes, should remain in those quarters till the insurgents of Guadalaxara are overpowered—an event which is expected soon to happen. Orders are at the same time communicated by the secretaries of state, to different generals, and civil officers, immediately to leave Madrid. Lieutenant-general the Marquess of Castellar goes to Carthage; the Count de Casasarria, to Valencia; Lieutenant-general Francisco Longa, to Badajoz; and Brigadier D. Juan Sanchez Cisneros, to Avila. The reforms of the palace

are not announced; but it is said that they will immediately follow. It must be confessed, that the purification of the palace is a work not so easy as might be supposed, and that it may be compared to that of the stables of Augeas, which required the strength of a Hercules: but every thing must have a beginning; and, in appointing faithful chiefs in all branches, the reform of the present holders of office will be easy, and the conduct of their successors very different."

The municipality of Madrid presented to the king, on the 9th, a very energetic address, which produced a great impression. The following is a copy of this curious document.—

"SIRE,—Fully convinced that the late events, of which this heroic city has been the theatre, shall have removed from the royal mind of your majesty the melancholy illusions, by means of which perfidious men had endeavoured to blind it, the constitutional municipality of the capital of Spain is eager to carry to the foot of the throne the most sincere expression of its sentiments and its wishes for the preservation of the state, and of its constitutional monarch. The municipality thinks it cannot render to its king a more precious service, than to represent to him, in time, the necessity of adopting prompt and energetic measures, which may save the country, by causing to cease, in a certain and radical manner, the calamities which afflict it. We are still in time, Sire, but perhaps the opportunity may never again occur, to remedy the evil. The means are simple; and, once adopted, the social edifice will be constructed on solid foundations, which neither the present generation, nor that which is to come, will see shaken. The first of these means is, that your majesty, being at last convinced that the true friends of your life and of your glory are the defenders of the fundamental law which guarantees both, should put yourself, in good faith, at the head of the patriotic cause, and give public and private proofs of your being identified with it. To give the first proof that your majesty has sincerely embraced that cause, nothing is so necessary, as to nominate for ministers, in lieu of those who have resigned, men of known ability,

notoriously devoted to the system, gifted with an energy and activity sufficient to reanimate our social constitution, which is languishing and enfeebled by the bad faith of some, and the indolence and unskilfulness of others. Your court, Sire, or rather domestic establishment, is composed (such is the public conviction) of permanent conspirators against liberty. The retention of any one among them would deprive your majesty of the confidence of your faithful Spaniards; and never was it more necessary than at present, for the safety of the state and of your majesty, that your majesty should recover that confidence. An act, Sire, not less interesting for the re-establishment of public tranquillity, and for the security of all, is the exemplary and prompt punishment of the traitorous and perjured agents who caused the blood of those to flow, who had committed no other crime than that of remaining faithful to their sacred oaths. A prompt and severe punishment, such as the laws require for their preservation, spares many victims, economizes precious Spanish blood, and prevents the horrible crimes which might cause it still to flow. It is likewise of essential importance, that those two battalions who belonged to your guard, in conformity with the word of your majesty, pledged two days ago, should be removed from the capital, and from each other, and sent to points where they cannot create anxiety and suspicions, calculated to compromise the public tranquillity. If to these measures we add that of placing at the head of the provinces (in places where they are wanting) active chiefs, of approved talents and virtues, and professing an indispensable adherence to the system, the remedy would be complete. Despise, Sire, those perfidious men who endeavour to mislead your royal mind by fanatic illusions, in making it fear, that, under the shade of liberty, there exist only disorganizing and regicide projects; which no Spaniard conceives, or can conceive. Become the first Liberal of the nation; and, instead of fearing, you will be feared. Yes; you will be feared by the wicked, and adored by all virtuous men, who alone are entitled to the glorious name of Liberals. Do not, Sire, include in that class the defamers of their fellow-citizens, the vicious men who abuse liberty. No! such people belong not to the category of

those whom we wish to render odious to your majesty: they are beings debased by despotism, and who endeavour to render odious the best of causes. Your majesty may rest assured, that none of the latter will be found, at the moment of peril, in the ranks of the gallant men who defended liberty the day before yesterday. Disdain not, therefore, Sire, to join with those who have proved that they will be able to defend you. Your majesty perceives what little reliance can be placed on those who pretended to be exclusively devoted to your interests; as if among perjured men we could expect to find any devotion but to their own selfishness and vanity. Your majesty has seen, that the defenders of their country, even in the intoxication of victory, respected, as an inviolable and sacred asylum, the precincts of your majesty's palace, where fled the infamous aggressors of a people the most sensible to honour on the face of the earth. Your majesty can yourself attest this truth. Be assured, that, by the measures which the municipality have the honour of proposing—measures which the indefatigable exertions of the last few days give them a right to propose for the preservation of their constitutional king—your majesty will see order and tranquillity re-established in the monarchy, the state resuming new life, the laws recovering their ancient vigour, and the throne again surrounded with that brightness and splendour with which it shone before it was sullied by a despot from the north, who enervated the forces of a nation the most powerful in the time of the Ferdinands and Alphonsos." (Here follow the signatures.)

During the commotions in the capital, and while it was yet difficult to say to what extent the popular violence would rise, notes were addressed to the executive, by the foreign ambassadors, declaring, that their courts would regard any attempt on the person of the king as an act of hostility; and, on the 8th, Martineez de la Rosa addressed to each of them the following document, which, under the delicate circumstances in which ministers were placed, must be admired for the clearness of its reasoning, and the justness of its decisions.—

"SIR,—We know sufficiently the deplorable events that

have happened within these latter days; since a respectable corps, destined especially to the guard of the sacred person of his majesty, has proceeded, without any order, from its quarters, has abandoned the capital, and established itself two leagues from Madrid, in the royal residence of the Prado. This unexpected incident has placed the government in a position as difficult as it is singular. It found itself thus deprived of one of the principal supports which enabled it to maintain public order: the force destined to aid the execution of the laws, has shaken off the yoke of subordination and obedience; and soldiers, charged with the sacred care of his majesty's person, have not only abandoned it themselves, but fixed public attention on the palace of his majesty, which continued to be occupied by their companions in arms. In such circumstances, the government saw the necessity of directing its attention to two principal objects: first, that of preserving, at all hazards, the tranquillity of the capital, without giving occasion to those disorders which the state of alarm, and the irritation of the passions, threatened; secondly, that of endeavouring, by every means of peace and conciliation, to bring back to their duty the misguided corps, without being obliged to resort to force, or to proceed to the melancholy extremity of shedding Spanish blood. With respect to the first object, the measures of government have been so efficacious, that the state of the capital, in days so critical, has presented a striking example of the moderation and wisdom of the Spanish people. We have not even seen the breaking out of those slight disorders, which, in ordinary and peaceable times, are so frequent in capital cities. As to the second, the dispositions of the government have had a less happy result, owing to the obstinacy of the seduced forces. In vain were employed all the conciliatory measures which could be dictated by prudence and the most ardent desire to avoid deplorable consequences: the means of dissipating the grounds of alarm and distrust, which served as a pretext to the mutinous corps, had been exhausted. The government had given them thrice, and on three distinct occasions, an order to march upon two points, which were assigned them for quarters; the council of state thrice consulted, pointed

out ways of conciliation, which were all adopted; finally, the ministry extended so far its condescension, that it proposed to the troops of the Prado to send officers of its choice to hear from the mouth of the king himself what was his wish, and what were his desires: all this took place without producing the effect which was intended. In spite of all this, the government, forced to take the necessary precautions, had so little deviated from the line of moderation, that it not only did not employ against the mutinous soldiers the troops which garrisoned the capital, but, to avoid every hostile preparation, employed no other resources but those which were at its disposal, and which it might properly employ, since its orders had not been obeyed as they ought. But so many threatenings on the part of the government, instead of bringing back to their duty the misled battalions, had no other effect than to encourage them in the culpable projects which they have since endeavoured to put in execution, by surprising the capital. Their hostile invasion is too well known; their fruitless attempts to surprise and to beat the gallant troops of the garrison, and the national militia, are likewise well known; and the issue of their temerity is before the public. In the midst of this crisis, and of the irritation which an aggression of this nature must produce in the public, we witnessed with astonishment the soldiers and the militia preserving the most severe discipline, without abusing their triumph, and without appearing to forget for a moment that the authors of this fatal event were Spaniards. After what had occurred, it was neither prudent, nor would it have been possible, to keep the aggressors in the capital, and to continue in their charge the protection of the royal person—the object of veneration and respect to the Spanish people. They therefore entrusted this precious deposit to a regiment which had been the model of subordination and discipline; and the troops and the people acknowledged and respected the immense distance which separates a mutinous royal guard, responsible to the laws, from the august person of the king, declared sacred and inviolable by the fundamental law of the state. Never did his majesty and his august family receive more proofs of attachment and respect than in the crisis of yesterday: never did the Spanish

people exhibit greater evidences of its loyalty and its virtues! This simple relation of facts, notorious in their own nature, and capable of being supported by so many witnesses, renders all further reflections on your note unnecessary. The government of his majesty cannot fail to appreciate worthily its sentiments, and to acknowledge that its object is in every respect as useful as interesting. I renew to your excellency the assurances of my high consideration," &c.

CHAPTER XII.

Assembling of the Insurgents—Sanguinary Conflicts in Catalonia, Arragon, and Navarre—Sanguinary Conduct of the Constitutionals—Trial and Execution of General Elio—The French Cordon Sanitaire converted into an Army of Observation—New Spanish Ministry, and State of Parties—Popular Societies—Proceedings of the Landaburian Club—Ferdinand strictly guarded—Royal Excursion—Description of a Bull Fight—Financial Embarrassments—Congress of Verona—Deceptive Conduct of the French Ministry.

WHETHER the mutiny of the royal guards was actually connected with the machinations of the enemies of the Constitution on the frontier provinces towards France, or not, has never been fully ascertained; but the assembling of large bodies of men in Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, immediately after that event, seems to justify the affirmative part of the question. It was likewise suspected, with every appearance of justice, that the Duke of Angouleme, who was at the head of the ultra-royalist party in France, had contrived to supply the leaders of the factious with money, arms, and clothing. Large bodies of men were collected in the three provinces above named, put under regular discipline, and assumed the name of "*The Army of the Faith*." To these, regular military commanders were assigned; at the head of whom was the Baron D'Eroles, and under him Quesada, the Trappist, and Merino. Having made themselves masters of Seo D'Urgel, a strong fortress in Catalonia, they spread themselves into the neighbouring provinces, and presented a formidable force to the constitutional government. In the month of August, a few distinguished Spanish

refugees, who had received the most friendly reception in France, passed the frontier of that kingdom, repaired to Seo d'Urgel, and assumed to themselves the supreme government of the country, under the name of "The Regency." The Marquis of Mata-Florida was declared to be the head of this regency; and on the 14th this body was formally installed. Their first act of sovereignty was the proclaiming of Ferdinand, with all the ancient solemnities; and their next was the issuing of a proclamation, in which they demanded the submission of the whole country to their authority.

The strength and consistency which had been acquired by the Army of the Faith, required all the force and energy the cortes could employ for its subjection. Numerous battles were fought, with varied success: the towns and villages which formed the scene of operations were desolated; and all the horrors of civil war, always more sanguinary and destructive than a warfare carried on between contending nations, spread themselves throughout the three provinces. Mina commanded against the rebels in Catalonia, where the self-constituted authority had its seat; Torrijos, a young soldier of courage, but sanguinary in his temper, headed the constitutional forces in Arragon; and Carlos Espinosa in Navarre. These conflicts continued till nearly the conclusion of the year, when the Army of the Faith was entirely destroyed or dispersed, and all the members of the regency driven within the French frontier, where they sought and received a safe asylum. If we are to give credit to a late historian, who professed to be no way ill-disposed towards the constitutional government, the Spanish commanders are chargeable with the most sanguinary conduct. "What," observes he, "is to be said of the commander, who, after receiving prisoners upon the usual understanding that their lives should be spared, selects a certain number, and orders them to be shot? Not only was this barbarous outrage upon humanity perpetrated by the constitutional chieftains, but, in more than one instance, they took out unarmed inhabitants from their houses, and, upon mere oral information that they were factious, without a trial, or a legal inquiry of any sort, commanded them to be put to death.

It was no uncommon circumstance, to read in the provincial papers, that such a person was shot, in such a village, at 'the request of the people:' that is to say, a mob raised a clamour against an individual, and, without ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, the authorities ordered the sentence to be executed. And these facts were related, without a single observation expressive of surprise or sympathy, as if they were in the common course of justice."

It must, however, be allowed, that, throughout the popular commotions in Spain, very few instances occurred, in which the sanguinary proceedings of a neighbouring country were imitated. Banishment to some of the provinces remote from the capital, or, at most, to the fortress of Ceuta, was, in general, the extent of punishment inflicted for political offences. One exception to this procedure occurred in the case of General Elio, the man who had been the principal instrument in inducing Ferdinand to reject the Constitution, on his return from captivity, and who, up to the period of the revolution of March, 1820, had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the constitutionalists by his violent and sanguinary conduct. From the month of May in the preceding year, he had been shut up in prison, in Valencia, and there did not appear to be any serious intention on the part of the government to bring him to punishment, until after the memorable events of the 7th of July, when the popular voice loudly demanded his being brought to suffer for his offences. After being tried before an ordinary court-martial, at which General Villa Campa presided, he was, on the 27th of August, adjudged to the most ignominious death known to the Spanish laws, that of the *garotte*. This sentence, submitted to the auditor of war to be revised, was not only approved by him, but its immediate execution was demanded, conformably to the martial law of 1821. The arrival of Brigadier Espina, who was provisionally invested with the military command of the district, was regarded as the signal for the execution; and if it had been much longer retarded, it is more than probable he would have fallen a victim to popular fury. On the 4th of September, the general terminated his existence at Valencia on a scaffold, to which the populace accompanied him, with shouts of

"To death with Elio! His blood will cement the constitutional edifice!" He met his fate with a firmness worthy of a better cause than that which he had zealously promoted, repeating the cry, *"Long live the king, and religion!"*

In the months of August and September, though the relations with France underwent no formal alteration, it became obvious that preparations of a hostile character were making by the French government. The sanitary cordon had still remained at the foot of the Pyrenees, after the cause on account of which it was collected had long ceased to exist. Even while it retained this inoffensive character, parks of artillery, bridge-equipages, and supplies of all kinds of provisions, had been collected at Bayonne; materials which were no way necessary to guard against the introduction of the yellow fever into France. Abandoning, therefore, so thinly disguised a pretext, the French government, towards the latter end of September, issued an ordinance, by which the name of sanitary cordon was changed into that of an army of observation, whose professed object was to provide for the protection of the inhabitants of that frontier against the unsettled state of the Spanish neighbouring provinces. It is not unworthy of remark, that this change took place just at the time when the Holy Alliance was about to assemble at Verona, where France had already decided that the affairs of Spain should form a subject of deliberation.

This may be a proper place to view the state of parties in the Peninsula, and especially the character of the men who formed the ministry, and directed the affairs of government. At the time of the meeting of the royal guards, the ministry of Martinez de la Rosa was in power, but it immediately after lost its influence, and the confidence of the people, in consequence of a general impression, though there never appeared sufficient reason to justify such a suspicion, that it favoured that movement. On the change that followed, Evaristo San Miguel was placed at the head of the new ministry. In the army of the Isla, he had been chief of the staff, and performed his duties to the satisfaction of the government. Subsequently, he became one of the leading members of the party of freemasons,

to which he was indebted for his elevation. It may be here observed, that this party was originally formed in Cadiz, in the year 1812; and, in the beginning, they adopted the same system of toleration and philanthropy which is held by all the freemasons of Europe. Upon the return of Ferdinand, and the re-establishment of the monstrous tribunal of the Inquisition, they were persecuted with unsparing violence by the adherents of the king. Notwithstanding this, by means of their well-arranged organization, they kept up a secret communication, formed the design of restoring liberty, and strenuously exerted themselves for the accomplishment of that object. The unsuccessful risings of Porlier and Lacy, already detailed, were planned and supported by this association. In the famous revolution of the Isla, they were, at last, successful: the operations of the army which proclaimed the Constitution were directed by the lodges, and every measure carried into effect through the medium of freemasonry.

San Miguel is a young man, who transacts business with apparent gentleness, though reputed to be extremely irritable, and impatient of censure; he possesses but little political knowledge, and is very superficially conversant with the tact of diplomacy. He has been charged with great partiality in distributing the various offices attached to his department; a charge, indeed, to which every minister may be liable, because he naturally selects for coadjutors those with whose characters and abilities he is most conversant, and in whom he can place the greatest confidence. San Miguel has preserved his situation of foreign minister from the memorable epoch of the mutiny, in July, 1822, through all the stormy period of public affairs, down to the removal of the king to Cadiz; which indicates an ability which some political writers are unwilling to concede to him.

The war-minister, Lopez Banos, was also one of the generals who commanded in the army of the Isla. In the first instance, he discovered some reluctance in joining the constitutional party, but has steadily supported their measures with undeviating fidelity. He is not remarkable for skill in what may be called the scientific division of his department, but enjoys the undisputed character of a good soldier.

Navarro, minister of grace and justice, is remarkable as a declared enemy to the abuses and usurpations of the court of Rome. He is well versed in the canon law, of an intelligent mind, but said to be deficient in that general reading which is requisite in a man who would express himself in a lucid and impressive style. He is rather a logician than a statesman; and labours under the disadvantage of an austere, unamiable disposition.

The minister of the interior, Gasco, has proved himself to possess active habits, is passionately devoted to the liberty of his country, and is decided and firm in his character. By profession he was an advocate, a rank which in Spain is comparatively obscure, as the courts are not founded on a public basis; which precludes the most splendid talents from making any considerable figure: besides, Gasco never rose to any eminence as a lawyer. His character for probity is highly respectable; and he acquires popularity in the discharge of his official duties, by his affability and condescension.

Egea, as the finance-minister, bore the character of a scrupulously honest man; is well acquainted with the routine of office; has good intentions, but little resolution. He views the modern science of political economy as a mere chimera.

Vandillo, the ultramarine-minister, is well grounded in political economy; a man of literature and knowledge. He was an advocate at Cadiz; is blamed as too docile, and incapable of firmness. He has written some excellent works on the advantages of a free trade, for which he is a zealous partisan. He is reputed a man of moderation and virtue.

Capaz, the minister of marine, stands next in point of weight and influence to San Miguel. To this minister is chiefly to be ascribed the infatuated policy pursued by the present government against South American independence. Such was the preponderance he acquired in the direction of public affairs, that not a few of his party secretly desired his fall, that they might have at least a chance of succeeding him.

Among the leading men in the cortes may be numbered Canga and Augustin Arguelles, Galiano, Isturitz; and a great

majority of that body are of the party called freemasons: and although there appeared among the heads of parties an opposition and rivalry which frequently embarrassed the operations of government, yet, the moment it became apparent that the great powers of the continent threatened the national independence, they magnanimously sacrificed their personal resentments on the altar of their common country. It has justly been considered a misfortune in the constitution of the present cortes, that a great number of deputies have little or no property, their principal support depending upon their stipend, which amounts to about five dollars a day. It would be a wild theory to maintain, that a man, because he has but a small estate, is incapable of being a good legislator; but when it is considered, that property is, immediately or remotely, necessarily affected by laws which a country enacts, it is highly desirable that those who legislate should feel a personal interest in its protection and security. It is true, that the ninety-second article of the Constitution provides, that, in order to qualify a candidate for a seat in the cortes, he must be possessed of a proportionate yearly income; but a subsequent article suspends this wise provision, until a future legislature should determine the amount of the income, and the nature of the property from which it should arise.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, which preceded the present, and the party which supported it, was composed of men rather aristocratical, and consisted generally of the higher classes of the nobility. The general opinion of these men has been, that they were strongly impressed in favour of certain modifications in the Constitution, and especially in the necessity of forming a chamber of peers. It is even said, that some hopes had been given by this ministry to the courts of Russia and France, that such modifications should be adopted. Whether this was actually the case or not, there is no certain data on which to form a decision; but if such was the fact, the intention was effectually defeated by the events of the 7th of July, which threw all political power into the hands of men, who were resolutely bent on making no concessions to the demands of foreigners.

From the period just adverted to, the new ministry exerted all their efforts to rouse the national feeling in their favour. The cortes passed a law for the re-opening of popular debating societies; and, in the capital, about one hundred individuals associated together under the name of the Landaburian society, for the avowed purpose of instructing the people in their rights. I shall not enter into an account of the speeches delivered in this society; but simply submit the proceedings of one of their sittings, as given by an English gentleman at Madrid, as tending to elucidate the opinions and genius of that party which is the most enthusiastic, or, according to the prevailing phrase, the most *exalted*, in favour of the Constitution.

“In the early part of December, a meeting of the society took place, which, under all its circumstances, was rather a remarkable one, inasmuch as, at one period of it, it was feared that the people would have rushed out into the streets, and have raised the standard of sedition. It must be premised, that, during the evening, there was a report busily circulated in Madrid, that the chiefs of the mutiny of the 7th of July were released from prison by order of the ministers, and that they were already several leagues from the metropolis, on their way out of the Peninsula. The decision of the cortes, confirming the capitulation of Palarea and Placentia, by which the lives of those who surrendered to those constitutional chiefs were saved, seemed to afford some grounds for the rumour: but, though the lives of the leaders comprehended in these capitulations were thus protected, it was not doubted that they would be tried, and subjected to degradations, confiscations, and long imprisonments in African or South American *presidios*. Besides these, there were several leaders in custody, who were not comprehended in any capitulation, and who, it was as little doubted, would suffer death. The report stated, that the leaders of these classes were set at liberty, on condition of quitting Spain without delay. It was true, that the ex-political chief, San Martin, had been just liberated from prison, as there was no distinct charge found against him: but the rest of the rumour was a mere exaggeration, got up very probably for the purpose of impelling the meeting

to violent measures. The business of the night was opened by Citizen Oller, who was followed by Citizen Romero; but they were scarcely attended to, so busy were the people in communicating to one another the rumour of the hour. In proportion as it was circulated, the exasperation of the crowd began to shew itself in a very unequivocal manner. In the midst of this agitation, Citizen Floran ascended the tribune.—‘What is it,’ he asked, ‘that agitates you? We ought, all of us, to be prepared to follow the march of things. What do you fear? Are you ignorant, that in the midst of you are to be found the sentinels of liberty? Are you not well assured that we would every one of us perish before we should see this sacred temple of freedom profaned? What has happened to alarm you?’ [Several voices answered, ‘Nothing: nothing can alarm us; we fear nothing.’] ‘If I had not that confidence in you,’ continued the orator, ‘never, never should I have appeared in this tribune. I know well, that, when summoned to defend your liberties, you are lions: but I have particular reasons for requesting the strictest order. This night, citizens, let us swear once more before the tomb of the hero who died for liberty, *The Constitution or Death!*—Do you swear?’ [Yes! yes! we do swear!’ answered the whole crowd unanimously.] Tranquillity, however, did not follow this artful diversion: on the contrary, the music which was struck up after Floran left the tribune could scarcely be heard, so loud were the vociferations, and the expressions of indignation, that arose from several groups in the hall.

“Citizen Oller again mounted the tribune; but his efforts to calm the mind of the multitude were to little purpose. ‘Who is there amongst us,’ said he, ‘who would not shed the last drop of his blood in defence of our liberties, if they were in danger?’ [‘Yes! they are in danger,’ exclaimed many voices.] ‘Have the goodness to hear me. I trust that to-morrow we shall be able to acquire authentic information with respect to the intelligence which has excited your indignation. (*‘Vuestra exaltacion!’*—I know no English word equivalent to the latter: it signifies a passionate, an enthusiastic state of mind, which is not understood by the English word *exaltation*.) For the rest, it is absolutely

necessary that your conduct should support these tribunes, which we have recovered with so much difficulty.'

"Still the agitation continued. In the midst of it, Citizen Floran again appeared in the tribune. '*Viva la exaltacion!*' said he; 'without it, we should never have fully vindicated our liberties! Assuredly we now feel how much our inactivity has cost us: but, citizens, there never was an occasion when we ought to conduct ourselves with greater prudence than on this night. It is rumoured, in substance, that San Martin is, or is about to be, set at liberty; that Castro Terreno is, or is about to be, set at liberty.' [The indignation of the audience here rose to such a height, that some cried out, 'Let us go in a body, and ascertain the truth of this report: if it be true,.....' This movement, however, was opposed with effect.] 'Citizens,' continued Floran, 'I conjure you, in the name of that country which you adore, not to compromise this society. *Viva la Constitucion!*' [This cry was repeated by the multitude; while the band forced all their might into the instruments, that they might drown, with patriotic songs, the murmurs of the people: but all in vain; the *exaltacion* of the crowd rather increased than lessened.]

"In the midst of this confusion, Citizen Gorostiza ascended the tribune. He praised 'the noble fire' by which the meeting was animated; but, at the same time, conjured the people to wait until the morning, to ascertain the real extent of the rumours by which they were agitated. ['Yes, forsooth! by that time, the criminals will be a hundred leagues from the capital!'] 'Citizens,' he continued, 'I should be false to my principles, if I addressed you on a point upon which I have not sufficient data.' ['We have them.'] 'If any of you be fully acquainted with the facts, enter this tribune, and relate them: I shall yield it with pleasure.' [No answer was given to this invitation; and the orator digressed to the subject of the French army of observation, upon which he was heard with sufficient tranquillity.]

"Gorostiza was followed by Citizen Perez Ribas, who, unfortunately, went back to the topic of the rumours, which, he said, if they were true, afforded strong grounds for alarm.

['The criminals have escaped!' exclaimed a voice in the crowd.] 'Would to Heaven,' added the speaker, 'that all those who are like them were now a thousand leagues from the Peninsula!' [Murmurs of disapprobation.] 'Citizens, I have given proofs of my patriotism; and you cannot justly doubt my sentiments. I should be heartily glad that all the criminals should expiate their treason on the scaffold; but when we have no certain proofs to go upon, why should we be *exalted*? The society has sent out persons to see what is going on in the capital, and they say that every thing remains perfectly tranquil.' [Several voices, 'We want no moderation.'] 'The question here is not about moderation; and I have repeatedly said in this tribune, that I sincerely wished, because I thought it necessary, that all those implicated in the events of the 7th of July should pay the forfeit of their crimes.' [One voice, 'We want no deceivers.'] 'The question here is as little about deceivers. For my part, I will not approve the conduct of government, if these reports be true; but until we know that they are true, how can we take any part?' [A voice, 'They are true; I have seen the culprits on their way out of the Peninsula.'] 'Citizens, I have sworn to die for the Constitution; I am ready to fulfil this oath: do you desire more? He who interrupts me, let him mount this tribune, and shew that he has done more for the cause of liberty than I have done. Citizens, while the defenders of the 7th of July exist, you have nothing to fear; but let us hope that the day is distant when it may be necessary for that body to prove its valour once more. Remember, you have need of much precaution: consider what a triumph it would be for the Serviles,* if, upon the ground of such rumours as these, of the truth of which we are not assured, we should rush out into the streets, and make a tumult.' ['Yes, the report is true,' exclaimed many voices; 'we know it to be true.']

"Citizen Floran occupied the tribune for the third time. 'Citizens,' said he, 'do me the favour to hear me. Floran has often assured you, that the orators who are in the habit

* "Those inclined to the old regime."

of addressing you are worthy of your confidence; but, if you doubt them, it is in the power of any one amongst you to enter this tribune, and to shew the contrary. The people are sovereign; but you ought to respect this place. This very night it is perhaps essentially necessary for you, above all others, to preserve silence and order. No more murmurs then: he who has any thing to say, let him ascend this tribune. It matters not if you are unaccustomed to the art of speaking in rounded phrases: all that the country requires is, that you may speak of its interests. For the rest, you well know, that those men whose love of liberty has identified them with the country, are sufficient to crush all our enemies, even though the congress of Verona, and France, should come forward, trailing behind them the chains of slavery. Let the signal of battle be given: then you will be seen, in the proud attitude of freemen, combating for your liberties, and conquering its enemies. Yes, you will conquer them; since one freeman is worth three thousand slaves! Thus animated by the spirit of liberty, three hundred Greeks vanquished as many millions who sought to oppress them.' [This address to the passions produced no effect: Floran, popular as he is, was obliged to stop, so great was the confusion of many voices, all raised to tones of indignation. The vice-president rung his bell in vain, and threatened to put an end to the sitting, if order were not restored.]

"It was now ten o'clock, and the return of order appeared very unlikely, until Romero Alpuente took his seat, as president of the society. He was received with repeated *vivas*, as was also the political chief of the province, Palarea, who came in shortly after.

"Citizen Gorostiza took this opportunity of announcing the flight of the 'regency' of Urgel from the territory of Spain.

"Alpuente ascended the tribune. It was some time before he could speak, so incessant and boisterous were the applauses with which he was received. At length he was audible. 'Citizens,' said he, 'it appears that tranquillity has been a little interrupted here, by the reports which are current about this devil of a *Tintin*. (*Tintin* is a nickname for San Martin.) The society will have, first, to verify the fact;

next, to examine the motives which led to his apprehension; and, thirdly, inquire why these motives have disappeared? These were points into which they could not enter at present, as they had not sufficient data; and he therefore recommended them to let the inquiry stand over. The orator then delivered a homily upon the necessity of applying themselves to the acquisition of political knowledge. 'Knowledge alone,' he contended, 'forms the ground for that preference which one man gains over another, and free citizens ought to emulate each other in pursuing it, as they would be all thus enabled, in turn, to serve their country. Two hours are enough for eating, eight hours for sleeping, four for amusement and visiting, and the remaining ten of the twenty-four should be dedicated to intellectual acquirements.'

"Alpuente was heard calmly; the sitting ended; the meeting quietly dispersed; and thus ended the business of this threatening evening."

After the events of the 7th of July, the king was watched with a jealous eye by the constitutional authorities, and indeed was, in reality, as much a prisoner in the capital, as he had ever been at Fontainbleau, under the vigilant observation of Buonaparte. The questionable sincerity of his majesty towards the Constitution, or, rather, the conviction that he had only adopted it through the force of circumstances, would, to a certain extent, justify the severity observed towards his movements; particularly as some obscure designs seemed to be on foot, for removing him beyond the Pyrenees.

With a view of rendering the person of the king secure, household guards and officers were appointed, in whom the new government could confide. These guards, armed with small carbines, were stationed in different parts of the palace; and the avenues were lined night and day with battle-axe men. Formerly, strangers had little difficulty in entering the palace, and viewing the magnificent pictures and superb furniture which it contains; but, during the latter months of the year 1822, no one was permitted to enter, who was not known to be connected with the household or the guards; and the persons of all those who came out were strictly examined, before they were allowed to pass.

On court-days, indeed, the prohibition of entrance was necessarily dispensed with; but very few attended these ceremonies, except the *Liberals*. Those who were known to be friendly to his majesty, absented themselves for several reasons; for those to whom he paid any particular marks of attention, subjected themselves to all the odium of Servilism, and exposed themselves to the danger of persecution and denunciation.

A gentleman who was resident at Madrid during this period, has published, in a periodical work, the state ceremony used when his majesty and the royal family took their short excursions in the neighbourhood of the capital. As this recital, besides being entertaining, bears the mark of authenticity, it is subjoined.

“One day,” says he, “I happened to be in the square before the palace, when I observed a number of state-carriages going towards the principal entrance. I was told, that the king, and the whole of the royal family, were just about to take their usual promenade; and I had the curiosity to see how they appeared. The principal entrance is a gateway, which, during the day-time, is a common thoroughfare, as it leads to the interior square of the palace, in which all the offices of state are situated. On the right hand, is the grand staircase: it was lined with battle-axe guards: A party of the carabineers before noticed, and four or five grenadiers, occupied the lower steps, and stood on each side of the king’s carriage, which was in waiting. The infantry-guards were drawn up in the square before the palace; and a body of horse-guards, to the number of five or six and twenty, was waiting also in the square, to escort (*i. e.* to guard) the royal carriages. In the passage were two or three military men, in undress, and seven or eight old women, who were waiting to present memorials to the king, though they could scarcely have been ignorant that the time for asking favours from the king of Spain was past. After waiting some time, the king and queen descended the staircase, attended by several officers of state, in full dress: dark blue coats, turned up with crimson, laced with gold, in the usual military fashion, white smallclothes, and white silk stockings. Such was also the dress of the king; in

addition to which, he wore a blue ribband over his left shoulder, and a star on his breast. The queen, a slight, genteel figure, with a small round countenance, feminine and timid, and not more, I should think, than eighteen or nineteen years old, appeared in a pink satin hat, very plain, and a blue silk mantle, edged with ermine, which covered the remainder of her dress. Her face has a mild beauty in it, which strongly interests a spectator: it looked, on this occasion, pale, and oppressed with inward suffering. The face of the king is remarkable for the vacancy,—I fear I must say, the deformity,—of its expression. The chin and lower lip protrude considerably beyond the line of the upper features, and seem scarcely to belong to them; the upper lip is enveloped in mustachios; and yet, with these features of the dumb animal tribe, there is a mixture of intelligence, loftiness, and feebleness, in his eye, which indicates a very peculiar character. Two of the officers of state placed themselves at each side of the carriage-door, offering their shoulders to the assistance of her majesty while getting in. I observed, that she merely took the hand of the king, and got in, not without some effort, without availing herself of the assistance proffered by the officers of state. She smiled not; she scarcely looked around her; and addressed not a syllable to any body. The king, who is a good portly figure, before he followed the queen, looked around, like a man who wished to give an impression that he was a free agent, but who betrayed his real state of duress by a certain awkwardness which he could not control. He was as reserved and silent as the queen. There is only one step, which is firmly fixed outside, beneath the door of the carriage, and this is so high, that both their majesties were obliged to ascend to it by means of a footstool. The footstool was then strapped behind, where it hung dangling as the carriage drove off. Before he left the palace, his majesty put out his hand from the window, and received the several petitions which were presented to him. I was rather surprised that this custom was permitted to remain, as it might easily have been made the vehicle of private communications to the king, which the whole system of the household was framed to intercept.

Don Carlos, the king's eldest brother, and very like him, with the exception that his figure is short, his wife, and family, followed in the second coach, equally reserved. Don Francisco and his consort followed in the third. He has a good face, but a short figure. In getting in, he gave one or two of the officers a nod of recognition, and forced a smile into his countenance, which seemed to be very little valued by those for whom it was meant. Don Francisco was popular before the 7th of July, but, since that time, his star has grown pale. The three carriages rolled away, without a cheer, or an expression of any sort, from the persons present. They were immediately joined by three other state-carriages, filled with the officers of the household; and the whole cavalcade was attended by the escort already noticed. The infantry received it in a respectful manner, the band playing, and the standard lowered, as it passed. Thus the king and the royal family took their rides every afternoon, the weather permitting, thus attended, thus guarded. If they had amongst them a spark of sentiment, they must have envied the humblest cottager whom they met on the road; for he was free to breathe the mountain air, and to turn the head of his mule to whatever point of the compass he pleased."

Before I enter upon the more important period of our history, which commenced in hostile demonstrations, and terminated in an invasion of the country, it may not be amiss to remark, as illustrative of the national character, that the people generally, and particularly those of the capital, seemed in no degree affected with the dangers which surrounded them. Their public sports* and entertainments were entered

* In Madrid, as in other principal towns in Spain, the favourite amusement of the people is that of bull-fights. One of these exhibitions, which occurred in the month of December, at the close of the year 1822, is thus described by an English gentleman, who happened to be in the capital at that time.--"My prejudices against bull-fights were strong; but happening, one Sunday, to see crowds of men, women, and children, hastening to the amphitheatre, I could not avoid following in their train. Shortly after three o'clock, crowds began to pour in rapidly. The women and young girls were all in their hair, but covered, the better sort with black lace veils, and those of the less affluent classes with a black silk veil bordered with lace. The greater number of them had

entered upon with the utmost avidity; while the country was harassed by internal factions, threatened with a foreign

also their fans, which the Spanish women use, not only to cool their faces in warm weather, but to guard their eyes from the sun, as their head-dress is ill calculated for this purpose. It was not uninteresting to a stranger, to hear the members of the different parties recognizing each other by such names as Barbara, Magarita, Herminia, Olympia, Nicanora, Nicolassa, Fernandina, Innocentio, Patricio, Francisco, Pedro, and others of similar terminations. The director, dressed in the ancient Spanish style, with a short black mantle, a hat turned up at the sides, and, on the left side, a plume of red and white feathers, rode into the arena upon a handsome charger. After receiving the keys of the den from the alcalde who presided, and who sat in a box on the right of the king's box, he gave directions for the entertainment to commence. Two horses immediately appeared in the arena, each laden with two clownish riders, who were seated on a pad, back to back. The hindermost rider kept his place by holding in his hand a cord attached to the pad. In his right hand, he bore a long wooden staff, pointed with iron. A bull was then let into the arena, the tip of whose horns was made harmless by being covered with lead. As soon as he saw the horses, he proceeded directly against one of them; and the combatants, who were apparently new to the office, offering no effectual resistance with their spears, he easily overthrew both horse and riders. He then attacked the other: and this contest was continued for some time with alternate success; the bull, however, being most frequently the conqueror, to the great amusement of the spectators. Upon a flourish of trumpets being given, this bull retired, and two fresh horsemen, on separate horses, entered. They were handsomely dressed in white and red silk jackets, decorated with gold lace: their hats were white, with a wide leaf, and a low round crown. These also carried each a long wooden staff, or spear, with an iron spike in the end of it. A bull was then admitted, whose horns were in their natural condition.—Nothing can be finer than the entry of a fierce, proud bull, into the arena. He rushes in; astonished by the crowd of spectators, he stops awhile, and looks around him; but when his eye lights on the horsemen in the arena, he paws the ground with the majesty of a lion, and summons up all his fury for the contest.—This engagement being attended with danger both to the horse and rider, it excited strong interest. One of the combatants, or, as they are called in Spanish, *picadores*, (pikemen,) was thrown to the ground; but happening to be near the boundary of the arena, some of the spectators came to his assistance, and delivered him from the rage of the ferocious animal. The attention of the bull was, in the mean time, diverted by the *banderilleros*.—These are pedestrian performers, who carry in one hand a flag (*banderilla*) of yellow or red silk, with which they approach the bull. As soon as he sees the gaudy colour, he rushes towards it; and the flag-bearer runs with all his speed to escape over the boundary,

invasion, and reduced almost to the verge of national bankruptcy. Indeed, the finances were in a state of indescribable

trailing the flag behind him : if he be in danger of being overtaken, he lets the flag fall on the ground ; the bull immediately stops, and vents all his rage upon it, as if under the impression that it conceals his adversary, while the fugitive has time to get away in safety.—The bull being now pretty well fatigued, the *banderilleros*, who were also handsomely, though very lightly, dressed, armed themselves with two strong steel darts each. They were short, fitted for the hand, and decorated with pieces of cut paper, so as to disguise them. It was the object of each performer to run towards the bull with agility, and, just as the animal was in the act of stooping the head to toss him, to fix the two darts in the back of the neck. As soon as the bull felt the points of the weapons, he lifted his head again, from the pain, without attempting to touch his adversary, who thus had time to escape. The animal immediately endeavoured, by tossing his head, to get rid of the darts ; but this he was not often able to accomplish, as they were strongly bearded : and sometimes he was seen raging round the arena, his neck bristled with these torturing instruments. At length, when he was almost exhausted, a *matador* (slayer) approached him, holding in his left hand a large red flag, with which he engaged the bull's attention for awhile, until, finding him in a convenient position, he thrust beneath the shoulders, and up to the very hilt, a long sword, which he held in his right hand, and which he had hitherto concealed from the eye of the animal as much as possible. The bull now fell ; but was not yet quite dead, when an attendant came with a short knife, which he infixed at the junction of the spine with the head, and instantly put an end to his agonies. He was then dragged across the arena by three horses, and carried away. Two bulls were killed in this manner. The second was an immensely strong one : he leaped after the *banderilleros* twice over the boundary ; but, from the arrangement already mentioned, he was driven back into the arena, without doing any mischief.—A third bull was killed in the following barbarous way. A green fir-tree was planted in the arena, immediately opposite the gate at which the bulls enter. Before this tree, a man, covered with a kind of armour, of stiff canvass, and having a false head of a monster, with the mouth open, superadded to his own stature, knelt on one knee. A thick wooden pole, pointed with a strong steel blade, was given to him ; and fixing the lower end of it in the ground, he sloped the point so as to meet the bull on entering at the gate. The pole being so fixed, the gate was opened, and a wild bull immediately rushed in, with such amazing force, that the spear penetrated completely through the ribs, and came out near the back. Still the animal was not mortally wounded : he attacked his adversary furiously ; who, pretending to be dead, permitted himself to be rolled about. The bull, seeing the thing before him apparently shapeless and void of life, soon left it, and ran, maddened, over the arena, the spear still remaining in his side. It was

derangement. The energies which the government was compelled to put forth for the extinction of the insurgents, tended only to augment the financial embarrassments of the country, and to spread the flame of discontent. The loan which had been contracted in the year 1821, in London, though apparently calculated to place one hundred and forty millions of reals at the disposal of the ministers for supplying the deficiency of the year, fell very short of its expected effect; and before the middle of the year 1822, the deficiency of the general revenue amounted to nearly two hundred and sixty-six millions. Such were the difficulties of the Spanish government, when the moment arrived in which they were called upon to provide a resistance to a powerful enemy.

In the autumn of this year, preparations were making by the

a shocking spectacle; but still so strong was the animal, that the matador could not get near enough to kill him, without manifest danger. At length, by means of a curved knife, which was fixed on a long pole, one of the assistants cut the ham-strings. Even after this, the victim made efforts to move; but at last he fell, and his agonies were terminated in the usual manner. Here ended what might be called the second part. The third part was of a more innocent, and also of a more useful character. Five or six bulls, whose horns were leaded, were admitted successively into the arena, and the younger classes of male spectators crowded to emulate each other in worrying the animals. By holding their cloaks before them, or one of those gay silk or worsted scarfs which most of the Spaniards wear under the vest round the waist, they induced the bull to run after them. If he were too quick upon them, they threw down the cloak or scarf, and ran away. Frequently it happened that they could not run fast enough, and the bull laid them prostrate; but his attention being immediately drawn off by another adversary, no harm ensued. One lad, however, in endeavouring to escape, fell down, and, no person happening to be near, a bull was instantly upon him, and raised him aloft on one of his horns as if he were a fly. The lad, with great presence of mind, finding himself thus unexpectedly riding on the horn, caught hold of the one end of it, and was thus carried about the arena. Fortunately for him he was soon tossed off again, without any other injury than a rent in his trowsers. In this part of the entertainment it is, that the national utility of these exhibitions consists; for it serves to accustom youth to danger, to render them active and dexterous, and in some measure to prepare them, by these mimic combats, for contests of a more important description. The whole concluded with a display of fire-works, which was upon a limited scale. There were about five or six thousand persons present."

leading powers of Europe, for the assembling of a general congress for the settlement of the affairs of Europe. According to the declaration of the British ministry, made in parliament, the matter on which it was expected that the congress would be conversant, and to which the preparation of instructions had been particularly directed, was, the state of affairs in the east of Europe—the complicated transactions between Russia and Turkey. Such was the view, at least, which the English government affected to take on the subject; and accordingly, when the Duke of Wellington was sent to represent his Britannic Majesty at Verona, he had received no instructions whatever how to act in reference to Spanish affairs. So far from the French cabinet having given to England any intimation of its intention of introducing such a subject, that, but a short time before, the king of France had officially declared, in allusion to the force he had stationed on the Pyrenean frontier, that the precaution thus adopted had kept contagion from his provinces, although it had ravaged a great part of Spain; that, with the same object only, he meant to maintain the forces he had stationed, and that nothing but ill-will and calumny could find a pretext for giving this precautionary measure a different purpose.

The time was now come, however, in which the French cabinet could no longer conceal its duplicity. When the Duke of Wellington arrived at Paris, on his way to Verona, he soon learnt, from Monsieur Villele, that France had determined to make the affairs of Spain a subject of discussion; and that congress would be required to take into consideration the actual position of the French government in relation to Spain. Thus taken by surprise, his grace lost no time in writing home for instructions how he should proceed upon this new question. The answer returned to the duke, by the British government, was such as became the character of a great and generous nation; and I shall here take the opportunity of expressing an opinion, that throughout the subsequent negotiations, and indeed in all her diplomatic intercourse, England has undeviatingly maintained a conduct distinguished by a magnanimous resistance to arbitrary pretensions, and a scrupulous regard to the independence of nations. The requisition of the Duke of Wellington was dated from Paris,

on the 21st of September, and the instructions transmitted in consequence were conceived in the following terms:—"If there be a determined project to interfere, by force or by menace, in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his Majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference,—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution,—that when the necessity arises, or when the opportunity offers, your grace will at once frankly and peremptorily declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his Majesty will not be a party." It is quite obvious that these instructions were not solely nor principally pointed against any individual designs entertained by France, but against any project of the allied powers.

CHAPTER XIII.

Congress of Verona—The Spanish Question introduced—French propositions adopted by Russia, Austria, and Prussia—Rejected by England—High Diplomatic Talents displayed by the Duke of Wellington at Verona—Pacific Conduct of England subsequent to the Breaking-up of the Congress—Negociations with Spain on South American Affairs—Their successful Termination—Offer of British Mediation to France—Rejected—Dubious Conduct of France—French Dispatch to her Minister at Madrid—The Spanish Reply—Declarations of the Allies against Spain—The Russian Note—Answer of the Spanish Cabinet—The three Ministers leave Madrid—Hopes entertained of Accommodation—Spirited Debates in the Cortes on the Foreign Despatches.

THE Congress commenced its discussions at Verona in the early part of October; and although no formal account of its deliberations has been published, yet the principal points of discussion may be clearly collected from the official documents laid before parliament, and the expositions of his Majesty's ministers in the two houses. On the 20th of October, M. de Montmorency, the French plenipotentiary, introduced the subject of the affairs of Spain, by addressing three questions in conference to the plenipotentiaries of Aus-

tria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain. In these interrogatories, he demanded, Whether, if France should feel herself under the necessity of breaking off her diplomatic relations with Spain, the other courts would do the same? Whether, if war should take place between France and Spain, the other powers would afford to France that moral support which would give to her measures the weight of the alliance? And lastly, Whether, if France should desire it, they would lend her effective assistance? and if so, of what form and to what extent?

To these propositions, or more correctly speaking, to these inquiries, answers were given on the part of the three continental powers, professing their readiness to countenance, and, if necessary, to support France in the so specified cases, contingent and precautionary, but not in their nature offensive. But to these propositions, however limited, the British plenipotentiary gave no such answer; in the replies of the three other states, however cautious and conditional, he did not concur. He said, that he was precluded from entering into any concurrence to a hypothetical promise in a hypothetical case, and that he should be informed, distinctly and practically, what offence Spain had actually given to France, and what were the grounds of future offence anticipated by France. He absolutely refused to give the smallest countenance to the imagination of a case, on which, should it occur, he might be called upon to pledge his government to eventual co-operation and concert. The congress, during the weeks of its sitting, discussed the question in all its bearings; but the language of the Duke of Wellington was the same on the last day of the meeting as on the first—a positive refusal to concur in any such measure—a positive refusal to give any answer to the inquiries of France—a positive refusal to have any thing to do with interference, by force or menace, in the internal affairs of Spain. When, at the conclusion of the congress, the great continental powers had agreed with France to transmit to their ministers, at Madrid, several despatches, remonstrating with Spain on the state of her institutions, and calling for changes in them as the price of their continued friendship and forbearance, the British plenipotentiary declined any participation in that proceeding, and declared, on

the part of his sovereign, that all he could do would be to continue his minister at Madrid, when the others were withdrawn, in the hope of abating the irritation such a hostile measure must occasion, and of preventing the evil by friendly counsel and assistance.

A work, lately published on Spanish affairs, offers a most triumphant apology for the diplomatic talents displayed by the Duke of Wellington at the congress of Verona; and as I sincerely participate in the well-merited eulogy, the substance of it is transcribed below. From the commencement of the conferences, the French minister, M. de Montmorency, strongly solicited the general co-operation of all the allies—morally in the first instance, and effectively, if necessary—against the Spanish revolution. It was evidently his object to make it a European question, in which the personal irritations between France and Spain should be merged and lost. The Duke of Wellington was aware that the origin, progress, and results of the Spanish revolution, had long excited uneasiness in the cabinets of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and he saw it would be useless to attempt to dissuade them from that expression of their sentiments upon this subject, which they had disclosed in the drafts of their despatches. His grace, therefore, seems to have addressed himself, in the discussions which took place, to separate the general anti-revolutionary views of the three courts just mentioned, from the individual causes of irritation against Spain, which appertained to France. In the answer which he sent to the members of the allies, (20th November,) after perusing the drafts of their despatches, he contemplated the possibility of a suspension of diplomatic relations between the three allied courts and Spain; whatever might be the state of the question between France and the Peninsula. He thus sought to reduce the cause of war, if it should take place, to a personal and local quarrel between France and Spain; and to prevent that close union from taking place between the four courts, which would give to the proceedings of France the appearance of being European. If he succeeded in this point, his next hope appeared to be, that England should stand in the character of a mediator between France and Spain, and might, by her good offices, the more easily prevent

a war, the consequences of which, to herself, as well as to the whole continent, it was impossible to calculate. At the dissolution of the congress, it appeared, that the Duke of Wellington did succeed in his views to this extent, that no general declaration of the four powers was issued, though there is little doubt that such a measure was originally intended. A marked difference of principle and language between England and the other powers had shewn itself throughout the discussions; and it was no slight advantage gained, that, by the suppression of such a general declaration, the secession of England from the alliance stopped at a point compatible with the continuance of those friendly relations, which it is her interest to preserve with all the world. The cause of war was evidently reduced from a general European question to a local quarrel between France and Spain; although the two French plenipotentiaries, M. de Montmorency and M. de Chateaubriand, left Verona with a different impression. The British government has been censured for not having instructed the Duke of Wellington to use strong language of remonstrance against the principles put forth by the continental powers, in the first instance; and against the determination of France to invade Spain, in the second. With respect to the first, it appears to me, that the British government, as well as their representative at congress, took every occasion, and indeed sought for frequent opportunities, to protest generally against the principle of foreign interference in the internal affairs of independent states, and specifically as applied to the case of Spain. They pursued this principle through its consequences, by censuring even the animadversions of foreign powers upon the internal transactions of an independent country, when the effect of those transactions did not extend beyond the precincts of the state in which they took place. The language used on these occasions was clear, decided, and expressive, such as a complete dissent of principle and opinion required. If England were desirous of forcing her political doctrines on the continental powers by the instrumentality of the sword, it would have been necessary for her to have indicated her intentions by addressing her allies in the language of vituperation. But having predetermined to preserve peace for the world if she could, and peace for

herself at all events, she would have compromised her dignity, in my opinion, if, in the warmth of discussion, she had allowed herself to be led into intemperate or menacing language. With respect to the other point, namely, the opposition given by the British plenipotentiary to the intended invasion of Spain by France, it is equally apparent, that mere words would have had little effect, unless we were prepared to send out armies and fleets to support them. There never was a second opinion in the cabinet, or in the country, upon the impolicy of such a measure; but many have thought that England ought to have unfolded, in a solemn document, her reprobation of this most unjust and indefensible aggression of France against Spain. Perhaps, at the moment when this audacious violation of international law, was on the eve of taking place, such a document might have contributed to encourage the weak, and rouse the indifferent, of Spain, to present a manly front to the invader. But, on the other hand, it should be recollected, that in that moment of importance, England stood in the capacity of a friend to both parties; and, without being vested with the formal character of a mediator, she was requested by both sides to exert her good offices for the perpetuation of peace. In these circumstances, a public and solemn declaration of her sentiments would have only embarrassed her mediatorial proceedings; though possibly an occasion may hereafter arise, in which she may send forth such a document, and heal, as far as in her lies, the wound that has been inflicted on public liberty and the rights of nations, by the lawless ambition of France.

It now remains to examine the proceedings which the British government thought proper to adopt for the preservation of peace, after the congress of Verona was dissolved. The Duke of Wellington was ordered to Madrid, to renew the attempts which had failed at Verona, and, if they were again ineffectual, to demand from his own government instructions for our minister at Madrid to disavow all participation in the projects of hostile interference, and to counsel them against any excesses which might afford what would be deemed a retrospective justification for the hostile denunciation of the allies. At that time, the French government, far from being more hostile in its disposition than it had shewn itself in the

negociations at Verona, shewed itself more pacific; and it had at one time determined to send back to Verona the despatches which had been proposed there, to pray the allied sovereigns, still remaining in that city, to reconsider them before they were forwarded to Madrid.

It appears from Mr. Canning's exposition of the conduct of the British cabinet, to parliament, that up to this time no communication had taken place on the subject of the negociations at Verona between this country and Spain; the cause of which is explained by the following circumstance. For some considerable time, a just clamour was raised throughout this country, at the impediments thrown in the way of our commercial navigation in the West Indian seas, by ships bearing the flags, some of the colonies engaged in hostilities with Spain, and some of Spain itself. These depredations called for the interference of government, and an armament was fitted out, by which this country was to take into its own hands that redress which had been in vain sought for at Madrid. Orders had been given to Commodore Owen, in the event of the pirates again finding refuge on the coast of Cuba, after asking assistance from the commandant of Cuba, (with his assistance if granted, and without his assistance if he withheld it,) to effect a landing on the coast of Cuba, and to root out the pirates from their holds. In giving these orders, and taking this step, the British government thought it right to communicate its intentions to the court of Madrid. About the same time, pretensions were renewed by some of the Spanish commanders on the Spanish Main,—pretensions obsolete and forgotten for many years,—to declare in a state of constructive blockade, the whole of the continent of South America, and to capture all vessels which should presume to violate it. There were instances in which this blockade had been rigorously enforced; and more or less, since the year 1815, there had been subjects of complaint on the part of British commerce, and a series of unanswered representations and unredressed grievances to the court of Madrid. It was thought necessary, as one angry discussion must take place, to bring all these matters to a point. That justice was on the side of England, is proved by the fact, that after the negociation, redress was specifically promised: that the injury was

not small is sufficiently shewn, by the sum set aside for the purpose of compensation by the Spanish government; this sum was half a million sterling, though not half the original claim. The mission on which Sir W. A'Court was first employed, was in urging these remonstrances, and in communicating the instructions which had been sent to our commanders in the West Indies—first, as to the island of Cuba; and, secondly, to make reprisals on Spanish ships, if compensation should be withheld for the losses of our merchants. Redress was promised by the Spanish government, and in time for instructions to be sent to Sir J. Owen to stay reprisals; and there was every appearance that the promise of redress was made by the Spanish government with the fullest idea of faithfully performing it. When redress was thus engaged, there was no ground for a trace of hostile feeling; but it must be obvious, that, amidst such negotiations, the British government could not effectually interfere in behalf of European Spain. It was not at the moment when we were ourselves preferring claims of American grievances, that we could assume the best attitude in defending the independence of Spain against European invaders; and it was wise to reserve our communications with Madrid, on the transactions of Verona, till the time should come, when we might avoid the appearance of at once attacking and protecting her. As soon as this business was amicably settled, information was communicated by the British cabinet of the whole course of the negotiations at Verona.

Previous to the breaking up of the congress of Verona, M. de Villele, the French minister, had availed himself of several opportunities of communicating to Sir Charles Stuart, the English ambassador at Paris, his own earnest wish for the preservation of peace, and his desire to receive the support and good offices of England for its preservation. Expressions of a similar kind had also been received from the government of Spain. After the receipt of these communications, the English government did not hesitate a moment to write to the Duke of Wellington to offer the mediation of his Majesty to accommodate the differences between France and Spain. The French ministry, after some deliberation, declined the proffered mediation; alleging, that the differences were not of that

specific and practical kind, which a mediation could remove, but that they had grown out of the state of things in the two kingdoms—that they had arisen from the influence which the state of things in Spain had on his most Christian Majesty's government,—and that the two countries had got into such a state of irritation, that war would be preferable, as affording some chance of a solution. This was the substance of the argument of the French government: it was still added, however, that though his most Christian Majesty could not accept the mediation of England, he would willingly accept a reciprocation of friendly interposition, and begged his Britannic Majesty to continue his good offices at Paris and Madrid. This request was accompanied with the most solemn assurances of pacific intentions: and as an alarm beyond example prevailed, as to the danger of the war, not to Spain only, but to France, and through her to all Europe; while there was even a chance of peace, and while it was through the exertions of this country only that this chance could be taken advantage of, it surely was the duty of England to try what could be done, not by mediation, which was rejected, but by the good which was admitted. At this stage, too, there was this special advantage, as compared with the time of the negotiations at Verona, namely, that the question was reduced to a simple one between France and Spain. Of the cases in which the allies were bound to interfere in behalf of France, none had arrived; and we at least had the certainty before us, if we failed to prevent the war, that our interference could neither hasten it or render it more dangerous. England did consequently use her good offices, and in doing so took the utmost care not only to distinguish her conduct from that of the continental powers, and her principles from those which France had avowed, but to guard against the supposition of any thing like unfriendly interference.

Subsequent events render it very questionable, whether the French ministry, in their professed desires for a continuance of peace, were sincere. Montmorency resigned the office of foreign affairs; the reason assigned for which was, that he could not accomplish his favourite project of proceeding with the war as a European measure. Chateaubriand succeeded him, with equally hostile views, but with less

scrupulosity on that point ; while Villele seemed to vacillate, shewed a wish to recede from positive engagements, and appeared disinclined to enter upon hostilities. It is conjectured, with all likelihood of probability, that the decision of the latter for war was fixed by the urgency of Russian influence, though he laboured hard to remove the appearance of foreign dictation.

The delay in the transmission of the declarations from Verona, which had been effected through the interposition of the French government, was but of short duration. It was under circumstances such as are above stated, that M. Villele prepared and signed a despatch to M. La Garde, the French minister at Madrid, intended as a declaration to the Spanish government, and setting forth the conditions on which the latter might prevent a recurrence to hostilities. This state paper is an interesting document, and I shall here introduce it to the reader. It is couched in the following terms :—

“ The President of the Council of Ministers, charged, ad interim, with the department for Foreign Affairs, to the Count de la Garde, his Majesty’s Minister at Madrid.

“ M. le Comte.—As your political situation may be changed, in consequence of the resolutions adopted at Verona, French candour requires that you should be directed to make known the views of the government of his most Christian Majesty to the government of his Catholic Majesty.—Since the revolution which took place in Spain, in April, 1820, France, notwithstanding the dangers which that revolution presented for her, carefully endeavoured to draw close the bonds which unite the two kings, and to maintain the relations which exist between the two nations.—But the influence under which the changes in the Spanish monarchy were brought about, has become more powerful in consequence of the very results of these changes, as it was easy to be foreseen—A Constitution, which king Ferdinand on resuming the crown neither recognized nor accepted, was imposed on him by a military insurrection. The natural consequence of this transaction has been, that each dissatisfied Spaniard considers himself authorized to seek, by the same means, the establish-

ment of an order of things more in harmony with his opinions and principles. The employment of force has created the right of force. Hence the movements of the guards at Madrid, and the appearance of armed corps in different parts of Spain. The provinces bordering on France have been chiefly the theatre of the civil war. Thus it has become necessary for France to protect herself from this state of disorder in the Peninsula. The events which have occurred since the establishment of an army of observation at the foot of the Pyrenees, have sufficiently justified the foresight of his Majesty's government. Meanwhile, the congress, which since last year had been looked to for deciding on the affairs of Italy, assembled at Verona.—As an integral part of this congress, France was bound to explain herself with respect to the armaments to which she had been compelled to have recourse, and to the manner in which she might eventually employ them. The precautions of France appeared just to her allies, and the Continental Powers adopted the resolution of uniting with her to aid her (if there should be occasion) in maintaining her dignity and tranquillity.—France would be satisfied with a resolution at once so benevolent and so honourable with respect to her; but Austria, Prussia, and Russia, judged it necessary to add to the particular act of alliance a manifestation of their sentiments. Diplomatic notes are for that purpose addressed by these three powers to their respective ministers at Madrid, who will communicate them to the Spanish government, and in their ulterior conduct follow the orders which they shall have received from their courts.—For your part, M. le Comte, in giving these explanations to the cabinet of Madrid, you will declare to it that his Majesty's government is intimately united with its allies in the firm resolution to repel by every means revolutionary principles and movements; that it equally concurs with its allies in the wishes which they form, that a remedy may be found by the noble Spanish nation itself, for these evils, evils which are of a nature to disturb the governments of Europe, and to impose on them precautions which always must be painful. You will, in particular, take care to make known, that the people of the Peninsula, restored to tranquillity, will find in their neighbours faithful and sincere friends. You will, therefore, give

to the cabinet of Madrid, the assurance that the succours of every kind which France can dispose of in favour of Spain will always be offered to her for the purpose of assuring her happiness, and increasing her prosperity; but you will at the same time declare, that France will in no respect relax the preservative measures which she has adopted, while Spain continues to be torn by factions. His Majesty's government will not even hesitate to recall you from Madrid, and to seek guarantees in more efficacious measures, if its essential interests continue to be compromised, and if it lose the hope of an amelioration, which it takes a pleasure in expecting from the sentiments which have so long united Spaniards and Frenchmen in love for their kings, and for a wise liberty.—Such are, M. le Comte, the instructions which the king has ordered me to submit to you, at the moment in which the notes of the cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, are about to be presented to the cabinet of Madrid. These instructions will serve to make known to you the views and the determination of the French government on this grave occurrence.—You are authorized to communicate this despatch, and to furnish a copy of it, if it be demanded.—*Paris, December 25th, 1822.*”

The same courier which carried the above despatch to M. de la Garde, was likewise the bearer of several copies of the *Moniteur*, in which it was inserted; so that the people of Madrid became as early acquainted with its contents as the government itself. It was immediately copied into the *Espec-tador*, a demi-official journal at Madrid; and from its tenor strong hopes were entertained that the French cabinet had detached itself, to a certain extent, from the views to which its plenipotentiary had agreed at Verona, in concert with Austria, Russia, and Prussia. When the French minister presented this document to the cabinet of Madrid, the former laboured to give a favourable impression of the intentions of his government. Its ambiguous tone rendered it capable at once of a friendly interpretation, or an hostile one; for while it expresses a hope “that the noble Spanish nation may find within itself a remedy for its evils;” all the changes which had taken place in Spain are ascribed to military insurrection; the plain inference from which was, that the king of France did

not consider the new constitution as having received the approbation of the Spanish people. To this despatch the Spanish minister replied, in a state paper addressed to the Duke de Lorenzo, at Paris, the contents of which he was charged to make known to the French government. Considering the irritation in which the court of Madrid was placed, this paper must be allowed to bear a moderate character, while it is no less distinguished for its magnanimity and firmness. A copy is subjoined.—

“ To the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty at Paris, &c.

“The government of his Catholic Majesty has just received communication of a Note sent by his most Christian Majesty to his ambassador at this court, and of which your excellency will receive a copy for your information. The government of his Majesty has few observations to make upon this note; but in order that your excellency may not be embarrassed as to the line of conduct you ought to pursue under these circumstances, it has deemed it its duty frankly to state to you its sentiments and resolutions.—The Spanish government has never been ignorant that the institutions spontaneously adopted by Spain would excite the jealousy of several of the cabinets of Europe, and that they would be the object of deliberation at the congress of Verona. But, firm in its principles, and resolved, at every sacrifice, to defend its present political system, and the national independence, it has tranquilly awaited the result of this congress.—Spain is governed by a Constitution promulgated, accepted, and sworn to, in 1812, and recognized by all the powers who assembled themselves in congress at Verona. Perfidious counsellors prevented his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. from swearing, on his return to Spain, to this fundamental code, which the whole nation desired, and which was destroyed by force, without any remonstrance on the part of the powers who had recognized it; but an experience of six years, and the general will, engaged his Majesty in 1820 to confirm to the view of Spaniards. It was not a military insurrection that established this new order of things at the commencement of the year 1820. The courageous men who so decidedly

declared themselves in the Isle of Leon, and successively in other provinces, were only the organs of general opinion and of the desires of the whole nation.—It was natural that a change of this nature should make some disaffected; it is an inevitable consequence of all reform, which has for its object the diminution of abuses. In all nations there are individuals who can never accustom themselves to the yoke of reason and justice. The army of observation, which the French government maintains at the foot of the Pyrenees, cannot calm the disorders which afflict Spain. Experience, on the contrary, has proved, that the existence of this sanitary cordon (recently transformed into an army of observation) has only increased the hopes of the fanatics, who have propagated the cry of rebellion in our provinces, by cherishing the idea of an immediate invasion of our territory.—The principles, the views, or the fears, which have influenced the conduct of the cabinets which assembled at Verona, cannot serve as a guide to the Spanish government. It abstains, for the moment, from making any reply to that portion of the instructions of M. the Count de Lagarde, which relates to the said congress.—The days of calm and of tranquillity, which the government of his most Christian Majesty wishes to the Spanish nation, the latter does not less anxiously desire for herself and her government. Both being persuaded that the remedy can only be the work of time and perseverance, they are, as they are bound to do, making every effort to accelerate their useful and salutary effects.—The Spanish government appreciates the offer made to it by his most Christian Majesty, to contribute all in his power to its happiness; but it is persuaded, that the means and the precautions which his Majesty adopts, can produce only contrary results. The aid which the French government ought, at the present moment, to give to that of Spain, is purely negative: it must dissolve its army of the Pyrenees, repulse the factious enemies of Spain who take refuge in France, and oppose itself in the most energetic manner against all those who indulge in defaming, in the most shameful manner, the government of his Catholic Majesty, as also the institutions of Spain and her cortes. This is what the right of nations demands, a right respected by those states in which civilization reigns. To say that France desires

the welfare of Spain and her tranquillity, whilst firebrands like these, which feed the evils that afflict her, are kept continually flaming, is to fall into an abyss of contradictions.—Whatever may be the determination which the government of his most Christian Majesty may deem it expedient to come to, under these circumstances, that of his Majesty will be, to continue tranquilly in the path traced out to it by its duty, the justice of its cause, and the character of firmness and attachment to constitutional principles, which eminently distinguish the nation, at the head of which it is placed, and without entering, for the moment, into an analysis of the hypothetical and ambiguous expressions contained in the instructions sent to the Count de Lagarde; it concludes, that the repose and prosperity of the nation, as also every thing which may increase the elements of her welfare, ought to interest no power more anxiously than herself; that her motto, and the rule of her present and future conduct, are, constant attachment to the Constitution of 1812, peace with all nations, and especially the never admitting the right of any power whatever to interfere in her affairs.—Your excellency is authorized to read this Note to the minister for foreign affairs, and to give him a copy, if he require it. Your judgment and prudence will suggest to you the firm conduct, a conduct worthy of Spain, which you ought to pursue at this moment. Such are the communications which his Majesty orders me to make to you. — (Signed)

“EVARISTE SAN MIGUEL.”

It was on the 4th of January, when the French ambassador presented his despatch to the Spanish minister; and on the 6th, the plenipotentiaries of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, also delivered the declarations of their respective monarchs, as drawn up at Verona. The contents of these memorable state papers are pointedly directed against the new order of things in Spain, which they affect to view in no other light than as absolute rebellion; and are sufficiently indicative of the despotism of the views and principles of those sovereigns. To an English reader, the doctrines which they promulgate will be regarded with feelings of indignation; but they may also be read with advantage, inasmuch as they exhibit, by striking contrast, the excellency of that constitution under which he lives, and

which, by establishing a government of law, excludes the mere dictum of a monarch as the decision of a nation. I have no doubt, but the whole of these documents would be gratifying to many in this point of light, but the limits which are prescribed to this work will scarcely allow their transcript. The character of the whole, however, may be collected by the contents of one of them, namely, that of Russia, which will be found below, and which was conceived in the following language:—

“ *Despatch from the Count de Nesselrode to the Charge d’Affairs of Russia at Madrid, dated Verona, the 14th, (26th) November, 1822.*

“ The Sovereigns and the plenipotentiaries assembled at Verona, in the firm intention of consolidating more and more the peace which Europe enjoys, and to prevent whatever might tend to compromise that state of general tranquillity, were led, from the first moment of their assembling, to direct their anxious and serious attention towards an ancient monarchy, which had been agitated with internal commotions during two years, and which could not but excite, in an equal degree, the solicitude, the interest, and the apprehension, of other powers. —When, in the month of March, 1820, some perjured soldiers turned their arms against their sovereign and their country, to impose upon Spain laws which the public reason of Europe, enlightened by the experience of all ages, stamped with its highest disapprobation, the allied cabinets, and particularly that of St. Petersburg, hastened to point out the calamities that would follow in the train of institutions which consecrated military revolt, by the very mode of their establishment.—These fears were but too soon and too thoroughly justified. They are no longer theories or principles which are now to be examined and approved. Facts speak aloud; and what feeling must they not inspire in every Spaniard who yet cherishes a love for his king and country? What regret must be experienced at the ascendancy of the men who have brought about the Spanish revolution.—At the moment when a deplorable success crowned their enterprise, the integrity of the Spanish monarchy was the object of the Spanish government. The whole nation participated in the wishes of his

Catholic Majesty; all Europe had offered him an amicable intervention to restore for him, on solid bases, the authority of the mother country over distant regions which formerly constituted her wealth and her strength. Encouraged, by a fatal example, to persevere in rebellion, the provinces where it had already broken out, found, in the events of the month of March, the best apology for disobedience; and those which had yet remained faithful immediately separated from the mother country, justly afraid of the despotism which was about to oppress its unfortunate sovereign, and a people whom rash innovations condemned to traverse the whole range of revolutionary disasters.—To the disorders of America were soon added, the evils that are inseparable from a state of things where the conservative principle of social order had been forgotten.—Anarchy appeared in the train of revolution: disorder in the train of anarchy. Long years of tranquil possession soon ceased to be a sufficient title to property; the most sacred rights were soon disputed; ruinous loans and contributions, unceasingly renewed, soon attacked both public wealth and the fortunes of private individuals. As was the case at that epoch, the bare recollection of which makes Europe shudder, religion was despoiled of her patrimony; the throne, of popular respect; the royal dignity was outraged; and authority was transferred to assemblies where the blind passions of the multitude seized upon the reins of government. Lastly, and to complete the parallel with those days of calamity so unhappily reproduced in Spain, on the 7th of July blood was seen to flow in the palace of the king, and a civil war raged throughout the Peninsula.—During nearly three years, the allied powers continued to flatter themselves that the Spanish character, that character so constant and so generous when the safety of the country was in question, and lately so heroic when it struggled against a power produced by revolution, would shew itself at last, even in the men who had had the misfortune to betray the noble recollections which Spain might proudly recall to every nation in Europe. They flattered themselves that the government of his Catholic Majesty, undeceived by the first lessons of a fatal experience, would adopt measures, if not to stop by one common effort the numerous calamities which were bursting upon them from all

sides, at least, to lay the foundations of a remedial system, and to secure gradually to the throne its legitimate rights and its necessary prerogatives; also to give to subjects adequate protection, and to property indispensable guarantees. But those hopes have been utterly falsified. The lapse of time has only brought with it fresh injustice; violence has been increased; the number of victims has frightfully augmented; and Spain has already seen more than one warrior, and more than one faithful citizen, hurried to the scaffold.—It is thus that the revolution of the 9th of March went on, day by day, hastening the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, when two particular events occurred which excited the most serious attention of foreign governments.—In the midst of a people to whom devotion to their kings is an hereditary sentiment, a people who for successive years shed the noblest blood to recover their legitimate monarch, that monarch and his family were reduced to a state of notorious and almost absolute captivity. His brothers, compelled to justify themselves, were daily menaced with the dungeon or the axe; and imperious commands forbade him, with his dying wife, to quit the capital.—On the other hand, in imitation of the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont, which the Spanish conspirators constantly represent as their own work, we hear them announce that their plans of subversion have no limits. In a neighbouring country they strove with unremitting perseverance to encourage tumults and rebellion. In more distant states they laboured to create accomplices; the activity of their proselytism was every where felt; and every where it produced the same disasters.—Such conduct would, of necessity, excite general reprobation. Those cabinets which sincerely desired the good of Spain, intimated; during two years, their sentiments, by the nature of the relations which they maintain with its government. France saw herself obliged to confide to an army the protection of her frontiers, and probably she will be compelled also to confide to it the task of putting an end to those provocations which have rendered it necessary. Spain herself has rebelled, in some parts, against a system which is foreign to her habits, to her known loyalty, and to her entirely monarchical traditions.—In this state of things, the Emperor, our august master, has determined to take a step which cannot leave to the Spanish

nation any doubt as to his true intentions, nor as to the sincerity of the wishes he entertains in her behalf.—It is to be feared that the dangers arising from vicinity, which are always imminent, those which menace the royal family, and the just complaints of a neighbouring state, will terminate in creating between him and Spain the most grave embarrassments.—It is this painful extremity which his Majesty would avoid, if possible : but as long as the king is not in a condition to express freely his will ; as long as a deplorable order of things facilitates the efforts of the artists of revolutions, who are united by one common bond with those of the other countries of Europe, to trouble its repose, is it in the power of the Emperor, is it in the power of any monarch, to ameliorate the relations of the Spanish government with foreign powers?—On the other hand, how easy would it be to attain this essential end, if the king recovered, with his perfect liberty, the means of putting an end to civil war, of preventing a foreign war, and of surrounding himself with the most enlightened and the most faithful of his subjects, in order to give to Spain those institutions which her wants and her legitimate wishes require.—Then, free and tranquil, she could not but inspire Europe with the security which she would herself enjoy ; and then, too, the powers which now protest against the conduct of her government, would be eager to renew with her relations truly amicable, and founded upon mutual good-will.—It is a long time since Russia announced these grand truths to the attention of Spaniards. Never had their patriotism higher destinies to fulfil than at this moment. What glory for them to conquer revolution a second time, and to prove that it can never exercise dominion in a country where ancient virtues, an indelible attachment to principles which guarantee the duration of society, and respect for a holy religion, will always triumph over anarchical doctrines, and the artifices employed to extend their fatal influence. Already one portion of the nation has declared itself. It only remains for the other portion to unite instantly with their king, to deliver Spain—to save it—to assign it, in the great European family, a place so much the more honourable, because it would be snatched, as in 1814, from the disastrous triumph of military usurpation.—In directing you, M. le

Comte, to communicate to the ministers of his most Catholic Majesty the sentiments developed in this despatch, his Majesty is willing to believe, that neither his intentions, nor those of his allies, will be misinterpreted. In vain will malevolence endeavour to represent them in the light of foreign interference, which seeks to dictate laws to Spain.—To express the desire of seeing a protracted misery terminate, to snatch from the same yoke an unhappy monarch, and one of the first among European nations, to stop the effusion of blood, and to facilitate the re-establishment of an order of things at once wise and national, is certainly not attacking the independence of a country, nor establishing a right of intervention against which any power whatever would have reason to protest. If his Imperial Majesty had other views, it would rest with him and his allies to let the Spanish revolution complete its work. Very soon, every germ of prosperity, of wealth, and of power, would be destroyed in the Peninsula; and if the Spanish nation can suppose these hostile designs to be entertained, they should look for the proof of their existence in the indifference and inaction of the allies.—The reply that will be made to the present declaration must decide questions of the very highest importance. Your instructions from this day will point out the determination that you are to make, if the dispositions of the public authority at Madrid reject the means which are offered for securing to Spain a future tranquillity, and an imperishable glory.”

At the time when the three communications from the three courts were presented, written answers were promised, and every reason presented itself for believing that the departure of the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian ministers, would follow. So exasperated, indeed, were the Spanish ministry at the general tenor of the declarations, that it became a topic of deliberation, whether passports should not be sent to them unasked, with a request to quit Madrid. But more moderate councils prevailed, at the instance of Sir W. A'Court, and it was decided to wait until they should apply for them. In the mean time, the following “CIRCULAR” was sent to the plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majesty, residing at the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin.—

“It would be unworthy the Spanish government to answer the notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, because they are only a tissue of lies and calumnies; it confines itself to making known to you its intentions.—1. The Spanish nation is governed by a Constitution, which was solemnly recognized by the Emperor of Russia in 1812.—2. The Spaniards, friends to their country, proclaimed at the beginning of the year 1812, this Constitution, which was abolished solely by violence in 1814.—3. The constitutional king of Spain freely exercises the powers vested in him by the fundamental code.—4. The Spanish nation does not, in any way, interfere with the institutions and internal regime of other nations.—5. The remedy for all the evils which may afflict the Spanish nation only concerns herself.—6. The evils which she experiences are not the effect of the Constitution, but of the efforts of the enemies who endeavour to destroy her.—7. The Spanish nation will never admit the right of any power to interfere in her affairs. The government will never deviate from the line traced out to it by its duties, the national honour, and by its unalterable attachment to the Constitution sworn to in 1812. I authorize you to communicate verbally this paper to the minister of foreign affairs of the power to which you are accredited, and to deliver him a copy, if he require it. His Majesty hopes that the prudence, the zeal, and the patriotism, which distinguish you, will suggest a firm conduct, such as is worthy of the Spanish name under present circumstances. This is what I have the honour to communicate to your excellency, by order of his Majesty.—I renew to you the assurances, &c.

(Signed)

“EVARISTO ST. MIGUEL.”

On the 9th of January, the ministers of the three powers demanded their passports, which were immediately granted; of the notes which accompanied them, that which was sent to the Russian ambassador is worthy of being recorded, as illustrative of the little reverence felt by the Spanish cabinet to the autocrat of the North.—“I have received the very insolent Note which your excellency transmitted to me yesterday, the 10th instant, and, limiting myself for my sole reply, to stating, that you have shamefully abused (perhaps through ignorance) the law of nations, which is always respectable in

the eyes of the Spanish government; I transmit, by order of his Majesty, the passports you desire, hoping that your excellency will be pleased to leave this capital with as little delay as possible.—I am, &c. “EVARISTO SAN MIGUEL.”

The French ambassador still remained at Madrid; and while the Spanish cabinet flattered itself with hopes that France would not proceed to extremities, and was sure of at least the neutrality of England, but very little danger was apprehended from the swaggerings of the three distant courts, whose approaches to her territory, in any hostile attitude, were rendered impracticable by her geographical situation. Upon this occasion, however, the Spanish ministry did not discover any improper hauteur. In his conversation with the English minister, M. San Miguel, subsequently to the arrival of the despatches above referred to, spoke in a tone of increased moderation, and seemed anxious to hold out more favourable expectations for the future, than he had ever ventured to express before; broadly insinuating, that modifications in the political code would probably be effected, whenever the country could be able to adopt them without the appearance of foreign compulsion.

Having dismissed the business in relation to the foreign ministers, the government decided upon laying the whole of the official documents before the cortes, which they did in the sitting of the 9th of March. This was a step to which the executive was not bound by the constitutional law, but was gratuitously adopted as a mark of respect and confidence towards the legislature: it was, moreover, thought, that a public discussion would arouse the public feeling; and the measure was at least justified, if not called for, by the French government having published its own instructions to De la Garde at Madrid.

When the hall of the cortes was opened, Sir W. A'Court appeared in the tribune of the ambassadors, in company with several English gentlemen, who were admitted by his politeness. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the secretaries of state entered the hall, and presently after, San Miguel mounted the rostrum. Instantly the utmost attention of the hall, the tribune, and the galleries, were fixed, and a silence deep as

midnight ensued. After a short preface, the minister proceeded first to read the Note transmitted by the French government, which, as its contents were already known, did not command much interest; but when he arrived at that passage of his answer which declares, that Spain was indifferent as to the results of the congress of Verona, "secure of its principles, and firm in the determination of defending, at every hazard, its present political system and national independence," the strongest ebullition of enthusiasm was manifested, many of the deputies and the spectators clapping their hands. The same manifestations of applause followed upon the conclusion of every paragraph; and when the whole was concluded, the cheering continued for several minutes. The reading of the Austrian Note next occupied the minister, and though Prince Metternich had intermixed a good deal of matter calculated to gratify the national pride, with his invectives against the constitution, frequent interruptions of disapprobation shewed themselves, particularly when that passage was disclosed, in which he says, that "*a military rebellion* never can form the basis of an auspicious and permanent government:" for a time the murmur of indignation was so loud as to drown the voice of the foreign secretary. The Prussian Note, which was drawn up much in the same spirit and sentiment as the preceding, was received with about an equal degree of dissatisfaction. The gravity of the assembly could scarcely be preserved, when that passage was read, which affirmed, that the cortes "presented nothing more than a conflict of opinions and objects, and a struggle of interests and passions, in the midst of which the *most foolish* resolutions and propositions have been constantly crossed, combated, and neutralized:" here followed the strongest expressions of contempt. But the unmingled indignation and rage of the cortes,—nay, of the whole assembly,—for there seemed to be no distinction between the members and spectators, was reserved for the reading of the Russian communication. The sentence commencing the second paragraph, "When in the month of March, 1820, some *perjured soldiers* turned their arms against their sovereign and their country," was lost in the deafening cries of both deputies and spectators, and from the latter repeated exclamations of "Down with the tyrant," burst forth like a volcano.

During the time of the reading of these papers, and at their close, the hall of the cortes exhibited an interesting spectacle. The deputies formed round each other in groups; some raising their hands in astonishment, some fixed like statues, and all expressing indignation at the violent calumnies and misrepresentations which they beheld in the Notes of the allied sovereigns; exhibiting at the same time a determined resolution to resist the aggressions which menaced their country, and avenge the insults with which she was threatened. It was observable, says an eye-witness, that frequently the attention of the assembly was directed to the tribune of the British ambassador, as if to ascertain the impressions produced on him by the passing scene. They looked on this tribune as representing that great and free country, from which they had as yet received nothing but marks of friendship, and from which they anticipated future assistance. When a sentence in the Notes, which strongly conveyed the spirit of despotism, was read, the eyes of all were raised to that box with intense interest. The countenance of Sir William A'Court, however, maintained an unmoved aspect; but several English gentlemen present took very little pains to restrain that sense of abhorrence which such doctrines as they had heard were calculated to excite in the breasts of men who knew what freedom is, and are resolved to maintain it. These expressions of sympathy seemed to afford high satisfaction to the deputies, who did not fail to manifest, by their remarks one to another, how gratified they felt at the impressions produced on the minds of these generous foreigners.

Immediately after the reading of these documents, with the copy of the circular Note which was to be transmitted to the Spanish ministers at each of the three northern courts, the president addressed the cortes in the following terms:—"The cortes have heard the communication which the government of his Majesty has just made. Faithful to their oath, and worthy of the people whom they represent, they will not permit that any alterations or modifications shall be made in the Constitution by which they exist, except by the will of the nation, and in the manner which the laws prescribe. The cortes will give to the government of his Majesty every means for repelling the aggression of those powers who may dare to

attack the liberty, the independence, and the glory, of the heroic Spanish nation, and the dignity and the splendour of the king's constitutional throne."

This patriotic address produced an instant peal of thundering *vivas*, which continued for several minutes. The deputies all rose in a confused manner, and shouted "*Viva la constitution, viva la soberania national*," in which cry they were enthusiastically joined by the people in the galleries.

As soon as order was in some measure restored, Senor Galiano moved, that a message should be sent to the king, to assure him of the determination of the cortes "to sustain the lustre and independence of the constitutional throne, the sovereignty and rights of the nation, and the Constitution by which they exist; and that, for the attainment of such sacred objects, there were no sacrifices which they would not decree, convinced that they would be made with enthusiastic readiness by all Spaniards, who would subject themselves to endure the whole catalogue of evils, rather than bargain with those who would attempt to deprive them of their honour or to attack their liberties." (Bursts of applause were again repeated at the close of this proposition.)

M. Arguelles.—I will not endeavour to suppress the emotion which the proposition of M. Galiano has excited in my bosom, in the bosom of the deputies, and those of the inhabitants of Madrid here present. I do not, however, think that the desire of the cortes will be thereby accomplished. It appears to me, that the proposition requires that a message shall be addressed to his Majesty, drawn up with that just firmness of language, of which the cortes have always given an example; and explaining the decision adopted by the representatives of the nation. I demand, at the same time, of the cortes, to charge the diplomatic commission to present, as promptly as possible, a project of a message, of which the said proposition may be the principal object, and which I think ought to be adjourned. It is impossible, gentlemen, to describe the impression produced by the reading of the Notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, respecting the contents of which I reserve my observations for another occasion; but I think, that inasmuch as the government has exercised the power vested in it by the Constitution, the cortes ought to

express the legitimate will of its members, in order to serve as a rallying point to the nation which it has the honour to represent at this momentous crisis. (Loud applause from the deputies and the spectators in the galleries.) I say more; the cortes ought to suspend till then the manifestation of their sentiments, in order that it may never be said, that the mere impulse of the moment dictated to us this step, and that it was divested of that august solemnity which ought to accompany so noble and just a decision. In consequence, I propose that the president nominate the commission, which is to be charged with the framing of the message which I have now recommended.

M. Galiano. — The emotion which this event, wholly novel in the history of the cortes of Spain, has caused in the minds of the deputies, the solemn spectacle of the cortes, unanimously voting the message which I have had the honour to propose, furnish me with new grounds for returning to this discussion. I could have desired very briefly to expose the motives on which the message in question was founded, to develop certain ideas which the reading of the Notes has inspired in the assembly; but the cortes having manifested one of those sublime movements so worthy of Spanish hearts, in unanimously adopting my proposition, the discussion of this important affair to-day would be violent, impetuous, and too agitated, whilst on a future day it would be calm, majestic, and finally worthy of the Spanish nation, which ought to shew herself dignified, moderate, and generous, when she sees herself attacked by vile and ignominious means. I demand, that the diplomatic commission, of which I have the honour to be a member, present, within forty-eight hours, the project of a message under all customary formalities; that it be printed in all the living languages; that it be profusely distributed throughout Europe, in order that the whole world may know that Spain desires peace, but that she does not refuse war; and that she is disposed to renew the sacrifices she has already made, sooner than allow her independence to be attacked; and that she will never digress one step from her constitutional system. Let us follow the conduct of freemen, and let us say to the nations which threaten us, "You hold in your hands peace and war; choose!"

The president then adjourned the sitting, amidst reiterated acclamations.

On the 10th, the following day, the proceedings of the cortes, with copies of the official Notes and answers, were printed in the principal journals of Madrid; and such was the intense curiosity with which they were sought, that the papers could not supply the demand with sufficient rapidity. To remedy this defect, when a lucky patriot succeeded in obtaining a paper, he hastened to the Puerto del Sol, or to the arcades of the post-office, produced his prize, collected a large concourse around him, and read aloud the whole of the intelligence. The remarks which the listeners occasionally made, says M. Quin, were short and pithy. 'Hear,' said one, 'hear this Prussian king, who once promised a constitution to his own subjects;' 'and who never gave it,' added another. 'Only observe how tender he is of the Catholic church; he himself a heretic!' This caused a laugh. 'Now for the Russian bear,' remarked another. 'Down with the parricidal race; down with the tyrant!' numbers cried, as the reader proceeded. The shrewdness displayed by the people composing these groups, was truly surprising, though their costume was not altogether of a courtly fashion.

The debate on the message to the king being fixed for the 11th, the galleries and tribunes were crowded on that day immediately after the doors were opened. By half-past eleven the deputies were all assembled, soon after which Senor Galiano entered the rostrum on the left hand of the chair, and read the message, during which, and at its conclusion, the spectators in the galleries shewed their approbation by clapping their hands.

The following is a complete and accurate Translation of the Address presented by the Cortes to the King of Spain, on the Notes of the Allied Powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia:—

"Sire,—The extraordinary cortes, in hearing the Notes of the cabinets of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburgh, which your Majesty ordered to be communicated by your ministers to them, have unanimously resolved to direct their voices towards the august throne of your Majesty, in an expression of the feelings by which they are animated.—The cortes would

fail in their first duty, they would inadequately express the wishes of the people whom they represent, if they did not declare the surprise and indignation which they felt at the strange doctrines, the manifest falsehoods, the calumnious imputations, which these documents contain, particularly the three latter, as vicious in their substance, as contrary in their form to the principles established among civilized nations; monstrously insulting to the Spanish nation, to its most distinguished children, to its cortes, to its government, and even to the throne of your Majesty, which, supported by the Constitution, does not suffer less than it from the attacks directed against it; in fine, to your sacred person, whose good faith and whose love for your people they endeavour, by an impious temerity, to call in question.—The cortes, Sire, have heard with singular satisfaction, the frank, honourable, and energetic answer, which your minister has made to those Notes, and which you have communicated to the cortes. They cannot but approve of the noble disdain with which your government, without descending to refute assertions notoriously false, and which, had they been otherwise, they had no right to prefer against it, confined itself to a statement of the principles which direct it; principles which the legislative body loudly proclaims, which all Spaniards repeat, and which they will support with the constancy of a people faithful to their promises, and which nothing can shake while they defend their honour and independence.—It does not belong to the cortes to inquire into the real motives of the conduct observed towards Spain by the cabinets of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburg, any more than to anticipate the results of the answers returned by the government of your Majesty; but, whatever may be these motives or results, the road which the legislative body must follow, is marked out for them by the Constitution itself, by the avowed and unanimous opinion of their constituents, and by the sentiment of national honour, which, being felt so strongly by all Spaniards, must more particularly animate the assembly of their representatives.—The cortes, in a crisis so memorable, are called upon to exert themselves, and are in fact exerting themselves, to draw closer the ties which unite them to the royal power, and to proclaim, as they do now proclaim afresh, in the face of the nation, of

the world, and of posterity, their determined resolution to sustain the glory and the independence of the throne of your Majesty, and of your constitutional authority, the sovereignty and the rights of the heroic nation which they represent, and the Constitution by which they exist.—The cortes are bound to assure your Majesty, and they do assure your Majesty, that to attain so sacred an object, they are ready to decree every species of sacrifice, certain that the Spanish people will bear them with joy, with enthusiasm; and that they will resign themselves to all possible evils, rather than enter into terms with those who would pretend to taint their honour, or to attack their liberties.—Such is the declaration of the cortes; and they hope that the national power, thus fortified by the union which exists between the throne, the cortes, and the people, will be sufficient to impose respect on the enemies of Spanish independence and liberty; to secure, perhaps, peace, and certainly the glory of the nation; to consolidate its future welfare under the empire of the Constitution which governs us, the salutary principles of which, promise to our country the most flattering destinies.”

A very animated debate followed the reading of this document, which was opened by Senor Saavedra, the youngest deputy of the cortes, connected with an ancient family, but who had hitherto distinguished himself less as an orator than a poet. He declaimed, with great animation, against the doctrines contained in the Notes of the foreign powers, which he denominated so many attacks upon the rights of every nation upon earth; he looked upon them as incendiary proclamations, in which the most infamous calumnies were made use of, principles were confounded, and liberty alone was assailed, without any consideration of the basis upon which it was founded. Why did these powers now complain of a Constitution which the Emperor of Russia solemnly recognized in 1813, which he caused some Spaniards to swear to, who happened to be then in his dominions, and which he had translated into his own language; a Constitution, too, which was also recognized by the king of Prussia in 1814? Then they wanted Spanish arms to sustain their vacillating thrones; and they knew full well, that it was the holy fire of liberty alone which

could destroy the colossus who menaced them. He concluded by observing, that if any of the foreign powers should be insolent enough to attempt interposition in their internal affairs, they would soon learn, that the heroes were still alive who annihilated the formidable hosts of Napoleon, conquered the conquerors of the Teutonians, the Prussians, and the Sarmatians; that Saragossa and Gerona still existed; that the cannons of Albuera and San Mascial might still be mounted; that Spaniards still preserved those blood-stained swords with which they opened in their fields the wide tomb that devoured their invaders; and that, if these powers were so forgetful of their own interests, as to attempt to make war upon Spain, they would find, instead of luxury and gold, virtue and steel.

Canga Arguelles followed Saavedra. He is esteemed one of the first orators in the cortes—perhaps only excelled by his brother, Augustin. He entered fully into a history of the ancient cortes, and demonstrated that the kings of Spain were formerly under the government of the law. After successfully controverting the doctrines of the foreign courts, and expressing his confidence that Spain would be found equal to her accumulated difficulties, he concluded as follows:—"But if misfortune should be superior to our strength, burying us in the ruins of our country, and burying us the first, the deputies who have obtained that country's confidence, we shall prove to the world the steadiness of our principles and character; and our ashes, and the ruins of our cities, accusing to the end of time the injustice of our enemies, shall send forth shouts of vengeance, which, producing one day a general explosion, shall awaken liberty to new life, in spite of the tyrants."

Several other deputies addressed the cortes; but comparatively little effect was produced by their speeches; particularly as the audience betrayed some marked impatience to hear Augustin Arguelles and Senor Galiano. While the former delivered his speech, which occupied an hour and ten minutes, he is described as holding a sceptre over the minds of his audience; every one of the deputies appeared to be entranced by his eloquence; and when he closed his address, he was cheered with enthusiastic acclamations, while a general look was directed towards the British ambassador's tribune, to ob-

serve what effect it produced there.—Senor Galiano closed the debate, by a brilliant display of that engaging and fervid oratory for which he is peculiarly celebrated. His style of speaking is said to be more poetical than that of Arguelles, and calculated more to delight the ear than convince the judgment.

The right of speaking on the subject of the message was claimed by several other deputies, but a vote was immediately passed, that the question was sufficiently discussed; and the message was unanimously agreed to. It was also ordered, that the debate should be published in a form detached from the journal of cortes, and gratuitously circulated throughout the kingdom and its dependencies. To present the message to the king, a deputation was appointed.—Thus terminated the memorable sitting of the 11th of January. The genuine marks of patriotism exhibited upon this occasion, the nobleness or the sentiments embodied in the speeches, and the talent and gracefulness displayed in the delivery, would have done honour to the most august senate of ancient or modern times.

As soon as the assembly broke up, the people rushed in crowds to the door of the hall, and seized Galiano and Arguelles by main force, and carried them off in triumph upon their shoulders. It was with the greatest difficulty that they got permission to descend again, and they took refuge in the president's carriage. The crowd followed the carriage to the president's house, singing all the way patriotic songs, and making the air ring with shouts of "*Viva la Constitucion!*" During the night, bands of music paraded the streets by torchlight, the populace joining in singing national hymns, and the whole exhibiting a scene of general exultation.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gloomy Prospects for Spain—Computation on the probable Permanence of the Constitutional Code—Sudden Appearance of a Royalist Force—Defeat of the Constitutional Troops—Dispersion of the Royalist Army—Alarm of the Government—New French Propositions—Departure of the French Minister from Madrid—Negociations continued—Conduct of the Spanish Ministry and the Deputies—Offensive Speech of the French King—Debates in the British Parliament—Preparations for War—Ferdinand's Conduct.

STRONG as was the popular ebullition created among the people by the indignities offered to the nation, and the energetic declarations of the leading members of the cortes, the situation of Spain, at this period, could not be steadily contemplated without emotions of apprehension. The four chief powers of continental Europe had undisguisedly proclaimed hostility against their constitutional code; three of them had suspended all intercourse with Madrid, by withdrawing their ministers; and although the French ambassador still remained, it required but little discernment to perceive, that his stay was rather the result of wily policy, than a serious purpose of cultivating a pacific understanding. The latter conclusion was speedily justified, by the subsequent conduct of the court of France. In this situation of affairs, the ministers of Ferdinand were compelled to calculate upon the probable danger which threatened the country, and provide against the emergency.*

* Count Pecchio, in a letter written in 1821, speculates upon the probable permanency of the Spanish Constitution, in a kind of debtor and creditor statement; and in its favour adduces some items which, if they existed at all, now appear to have been over-rated. There is some ingenuity in the calculation, and I therefore subjoin it, with this remark, that the Count has omitted one important article against its continuance,—that of a foreign invasion.

Auxiliary Aids of the Constitution.

“1st. The standing, now the national, army, and that which effected the revolution; the fear of ignominy and public opinion; its interest in a system of equality and impartiality in the promotions; above all, the love of glory, and wish to identify the regular army and political code.—2nd. The national militia; distinguished by the titles of Active

An occurrence indeed was at hand, which convinced the government, that it had not only foreign invasion to dread, but that a powerful and active party was already in motion to destroy the Constitution. On the 16th of January, within five days after the animated debates of the cortes on the foreign despatches, the utmost surprise was excited at Madrid, by intelligence, that a body of royalists, amounting to about 3000 men, had suddenly made their appearance on the borders of the province of Guadalaxara, and that they had made demonstrations to attack the town of that name, the capital of the province, which was not more than ten leagues from the capital. They announced their intention to be, the capture of Madrid, and the liberation of the king from captivity. After some unsuccessful attempts on Saragossa and Segovia, they marched southward, and at Medina Celi, levied contributions in money, provisions, and horses. This force was under the

and Local : the former are well dressed, disciplined, and armed ; they superintend the internal tranquillity of the communes. There are at Barcelona alone, six thousand men of this description, which would bear an advantageous comparison with the best regiments of the line. The Active militia is a very old institution in several of the provinces, which has been improved and extended to all the rest, since the establishment of the constitutional system ; when completely organized, it will amount to eighty-seven thousand men.—3rd. Secret societies ; thus called, though they are only so by name ; these are powerful by their number, activity, and vigilance ; patriotic Juntas, which are established in all the large towns. Lastly, all the enlightened portion of the community, who were, and would again become, objects of persecution to despotism and the Inquisition, if a re-action took place.—4th. The creditors of the state, who calculate on being reimbursed by the sale of the national domains, church property, and inscriptions on the great book, as it is called. The public debt of Spain does not exceed one hundred and fifty millions sterling ; while it is calculated that there is capital to treble that amount, to cover it, between the church property already appropriated, and that which is still to be made available to the wants of the nation. To the above may be added, the purchasers of national property ; and commercial men of every class, who feel they can only prosper under laws which shall afford protection to their persons and property.—5th. All those to whom the country is dear, and who so bitterly deplored the degradation of the monarchy under the late destructive system : every one who foresees centuries of riches and prosperity, if Spain will but patiently wait the effects of the new institutions.—6th. The great mass of the peasantry, which is already relieved from half the weight of tithes,

command of Bessieres and Ulman. The former is a Frenchman, who, not many months before, had been found guilty of forming part of a conspiracy at Barcelona, for the purpose of establishing a republic. He was condemned to be executed, and was actually on his way to the scaffold, when he was rescued by the mob. The first account that was heard of him, after his escape, was, his appearance at the head of the factious. His subordinate in command is a Swede, who was employed some years ago, by the Spanish government, to annihilate the bands of robbers which infested the province of Estremadura; and is said to have executed his commission with ferocious energy, allowing no quarter, nor trial, but hanging them up as soon as they were taken. It does not appear, that the Spanish government had received any intimation whatever of the formation or disciplining of this force, before it shewed itself in active operation; and it was

as it will doubtless be so ere long, from the feudal imposts paid to the grandees.—7th. The younger sons of noblemen and others, who, by the extinction of the laws on primogeniture, regain their natural rights.—8th. Though last, not least, the spirit of the age, which has an inevitable tendency towards freedom.

Forces operating against the Constitution.

1st. The drones of the court; all those who are accustomed to live by favours and gifts. The majority of the nobles who enjoy privileges and distinctions. It is, however, but justice to add, that up to the present moment, the nobility have tranquilly borne the sacrifices required by their country.—2nd. The elder sons of those families in which there were large entails, (their number is very small.) Those proprietors to whose prejudice the feudal rights and privileges will be abolished, are powerful though not numerous.—3rd. Archbishops, bishops, chapters, canons, &c. who lose their enormous revenues and fat livings. There were two thousand of the latter, many of whom enjoyed prebendaries to the amount of £10,000 per annum. The numerous troops of monks who have lost the fruits of their benefices, and their influence on society. The clergy of Spain, secular and regular, does not, however, exceed 80,000 individuals. Nearly all the old generals, and to whom the nation in a great measure owes its independence. How is it possible for the victors of Baylen and San Marcial patiently to suffer their names to be forgotten for those of the heroes of Las Cabezas and San Fernando?—5th. Old habits of slavery, and the idolatry of the throne.—6th. The new duties of registry and patents, which oppose sellers, buyers, and artisans.—7th. I leave you to divine what is the seventh counteracting power, for I will have no dispute with any thing that emanates from the Divinity.”

suspected, not without reason, that the movement of Bessieres was the result of a previous concert not unknown to many persons both in Paris and Madrid ;—a suspicion which was greatly strengthened, inasmuch as, though indifferently clothed, they were well armed. The difficulty and tardiness with which these insurgents were subdued, shewed how ill prepared the government was to meet any sudden emergency, as well as the apathy of the population to a system which it was the avowed purpose of this banditti to destroy. Reinforcements were ordered from the capital, but it was the 20th before 1700 men could be despatched, with four pieces of artillery, and not until the 24th, when they reached Brihuega, where Bessieres had concentrated his forces. It should be noted, that on the 11th, the latter general had had a rencontre with the constitutional troops, and manifested a courage and energy which proved him to be no contemptible enemy. The corps from Madrid was joined, on its arrival in the neighbourhood of Bessieres, by several bodies of militia, and the whole was placed under the command of general O'Daly. This officer, though possessing much personal courage, was but ill qualified to direct the movements of inexperienced troops ; and hence the injudicious disposition of his force, arising from a misplaced attachment to military tactics, proved the cause of his entire defeat. Dividing his army into three columns, a corps of raw militia advanced on the right towards the enemy, with one piece of artillery ; some companies of Guadalajara, and a body of cacadores, were pushed forward on the left ; while O'Daly remained with a column of infantry on the centre, with three pieces of cannon. The success of this mode of attack entirely depended upon the precision of the movements of the columns ; and their failure in this point, enabled Bessieres to beat them in detail. By a feigned retreat on the part of the royalists, the right was drawn down near to the village of Brihuega, were suddenly charged by a body of lancers, defeated, and driven back. The left column, unacquainted with this reverse, still advanced, when Bessieres, being now at liberty to use a superior force in that quarter, made a vigorous attack, and instantly compelled a hasty retreat. O'Daly, informed of the result, and unable to form his scattered forces anew, retired from the

field, leaving the enemy in possession of two pieces of his artillery. Just when the retreat was effecting, a firing was heard on the right of the constitutionalists, which, it afterwards appeared, proceeded from a corps commanded by the Empecinado,* who had fallen upon the royalists; but of whose near approach, O'Daly was ignorant. Against this fresh attack, however, Bessieres successfully defended himself, and remained in his position during the night. On the 25th, he advanced to Guadalaxara, of which he took possession; and as his troops conducted themselves with strict discipline, the inhabitants willingly supplied them with provisions. In the mean time, Count Abisbal was appointed to supersede O'Daly in the command; and he took such effective measures, as compelled the royalist chief to evacuate that town on the following day. So closely pressed, indeed, was this corps, that within a few days it was dispersed, and scattered as suddenly as it had made its appearance. This expedition seems to have been one merely of experiment, to try the temper of the people and the military, in reference to their attachment to the present order of things. If Bessieres hoped to obtain assistance from the capital, or to create a rising in it by his approach, he was completely disappointed. There was a decided determination on the part of the militia, to resist any attempts he might make, even if he had defeated Abisbal.

It may easily be conceived, however, that during the days this hostile force occupied a station so near the capital, the government, as well as those who had an interest in the preservation of the Constitution, felt the utmost alarm. This was especially the case, when it was ascertained, that the troops under O'Daly had sustained so signal a defeat. The government, moreover, were not without apprehensions, that a conspiracy was on foot in Madrid, to raise an internal force to assist the operations of Bessieres. On the morning of the 24th, a discovery was made of 600 stand of arms, all prepared for immediate use; and it was reasonably enough concluded,

* The name of this general is Don Juan Martin; and the epithet of *Empecinado* was obtained by him during the late war. It means, literally, *covered with mud*; for he was so active, that he never had time to wash himself. Having been a successful guerilla chief, he adopted it as a name of honour.

that they were intended for the royalists in the capital. It was likewise said, that during the previous three or four days, parties of stout young men, who had just come in from the country, were observed in different parts of Madrid, and that they were supposed to be connected with the plans of Bes-sieres. As it was well known, that the avowed object of this chief was to seize the person of the king, a double guard was placed on the palace; the amphitheatre, on the usual day for the bull-fights, was closed; and the gate of Alcala was strongly guarded, so that no one was allowed to pass through it without a special passport.

Notwithstanding the firmness discovered in the answer transmitted by the Spanish government to the demands of France, some slight hopes were yet entertained, that an accommodation might be effected without a recurrence to arms. The ministers of Ferdinand were naturally desirous of such a result; the court of Great Britain, throughout its whole intercourse between the two powers, gave unequivocal testimony of its sincere wish for peace; and the cabinet of the Thuilleries affected to be well disposed towards the same object, but certainly not without strong suspicions of a contrary purpose. The most certain criterion by which to form a judgment on these points, is the official correspondence that passed between the three powers, the whole of which has already been laid before the public. It is from these documents, therefore, in a condensed form, that I have founded the subsequent account of the diplomatic transactions.

On the 12th of January, the Spanish minister for foreign affairs made a formal request to Sir W. A'Court, for the good offices of England to avert the breaking out of a war. The British minister, conformably to the letter and spirit of the instructions he had received, readily pledged his government to such an object; stating at the same time, that in the event of the French ambassador leaving Madrid, the British minister would accede to become the medium of communication between the two powers at variance. This offer was reiterated to M. de Chateaubriand, by Sir Charles Stuart, at Paris, on the 22d of that month; and the same assurance of friendly interposition was given to him as had been made to San Miguel, at Madrid. To this communication, M. de Chateau-

briand answered, that the Duke of San Lorenzo, the Spanish minister at Paris, had been with him, and had spoken in temperate language respecting the situation of the two governments ; but that while a conciliatory tone was assumed by the agents of Spain, at the moment they admitted all the defects of their constitution, their readiness to concur in the operation of a change, and their wish for the publication of a general amnesty, their political societies were most active in their endeavours to promote revolt in France. He added, that the success of such intrigues, which the French ministry had no means to prevent during the continuance of peace, was more to be dreaded than the enormity of the evils resulting from a state of war. Of the sincerity of the British government to maintain peace, he had no doubt; but was apprehensive it was impossible successfully to press the subject on the Spanish government, in sufficient time to secure pacificatory results.

The charge preferred in this communication, against the Spanish constitutionalists, was certainly altogether unfounded, or grossly exaggerated. No evidence was ever brought forward to warrant the conclusion, that either the government or cortes, or any of their leading members, had any connection whatever in attempts at producing revolt in France. That there might be, and that there was, a French party of refugees in Spain, who, aided by some Spaniards, maintained a secret and political intercourse with disaffected Frenchmen in their own country, is a fact, which obtained credit by the trials of Berton and his associates, with other insurgents. But, that insulated individuals intrigued, and a few desperate and contemptible bands meditated schemes of rebellion, was no legitimate ground for a declaration of war. Such a state of things is, doubtless, an evil, but it is one which no government can at all times wholly prevent ; and if this was a grievance which the French deemed to be of such paramount importance, it may be asked, why the cabinet of France had not brought it forward in all the preceding parts of the negotiations? Chateaubriand keeps this secret to himself till within a few days of an hostile declaration, and then affects to lament, " that it is now too late to redress the evil of which we complain."

Notwithstanding the French minister thus urged obstacles which he affected to consider insuperable to the continuance of friendly intercourse, he still maintained, that the French government would be glad to avail itself of the publication of an amnesty by the Spanish cabinet, accompanied by any change, however trifling, if effected by the authority of the king, which might furnish his court with an honourable plea from proceeding to extremities. It was well understood, there was at this time a moderate party in the cortes, who were desirous of promoting the amnesty to which the French minister alluded. To accomplish this object was no less desired by Sir W. A'Court, who is said strenuously to have recommended it, by representing the favourable impression which such a measure would be likely to produce in their favour. The institution of a second was also conceived to be necessary, in order that a free and effective voice in the legislature might be given to the king. If, besides this alteration, the ninety-second article of the constitution were put in execution, and a fair proportion of property were fixed as a qualification for the members of the deputies, the basis of a free and practicable system, it was urged, would be laid, which would extinguish all animosities, and ensure the welfare of the country.

For many reasons, the British government wished to see some such changes as these effected, or at least a promise of them on the part of Spain, as it would then be enabled to mediate with France with every hope of success. But it was thought incompatible with our avowed principles, to make any formal propositions for their adoption; and besides, they would only have been considered as demands in another shape, and as directly at variance with the conduct maintained by England at the congress of Verona. It was, however, thought, that the Duke of Wellington, from his intimate connection with Spain as her distinguished liberator, and from the high rank and extensive estates which he holds in that country, might, in the character of her friend and well-wisher, offer suggestions for her consideration. The Duke of Wellington had sustained Spanish liberty against the attacks of France, and had ultimately made it triumphant; the independence which he had established by his sword, he had

endeavoured to preserve inviolate, by his diplomatic labours at Verona. If ever there was a man entitled to honour in Spain, it was the Duke of Wellington. Nothing, therefore, could be less invidious, than that the man who had earned a Spanish character, by gratitude and adoption, should speak what many of his private friends at Madrid knew to have been long his real sentiments. The Duke of Wellington, therefore, sent his friend to Madrid—the partner of his toils in the Peninsular war, the assistant of his labours at Verona—with his opinion of the course which it would be prudent for Spain to pursue. This opinion was given in a paper delivered at Madrid, put together, not with all the *finesse* of diplomacy, but honestly and plainly spoken: it was an opinion given after Spain had asked for our interference and counsels; it was after France had stated that it was through England alone that she could look for an accommodation; it was at a time when it was through such a proposal alone that we could look for a pacification, that this last expedient was resorted to. Then it was, that, not asking any thing for ourselves, not making this or that form of constitutional reformation the condition of our friendship, or even of our exertions, but suggesting what we thought for the advantage of Spain, and echoing the voice of Spaniards,—that the advice of the Duke of Wellington was transmitted.

In his private and individual capacity, his grace drew up this memorandum, in which he recommended, in general terms, that some alterations should be made in the constitutional code, with the concurrence of the king; particularly pointing out the necessity and advantage of enlarging the power of the crown. This memorandum was confided to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, his grace's confidential friend, who was also personally known and esteemed by some of the leading men in the Spanish capital, on whose co-operation he had every rational ground to calculate. His lordship, under the sanction of the British government, accepted this delicate and important mission, and arrived at Madrid on the 20th of January. He was instructed to avoid the appearance of being invested with the character of diplomacy, which, in the eyes of the Spanish ministry, might detract from the official or personal authority of Sir W. A'Court. He was to act in con-

junction with that minister's wishes and opinions, as to the occasions on which, and as to the persons with whom, he should communicate on the topics of his mission, and report to him the progress of his object; not disguising from the individuals with whom he conversed, that he was to do so. His lordship was also directed carefully to abstain from exciting suspicion, that the suggestions he had to offer from the Duke of Wellington, as the personal friend of Spain, emanated as propositions from the British cabinet.

In the evening of the 26th of January, and before the mission of Lord Somerset could be fairly opened, it was generally understood in Madrid, that a messenger had arrived in the capital with the answer of the French government to the reply which the Spanish cabinet had given to M. de Villele's note. This document required, that if the Spanish government seemed resolved to resist the new propositions which he was authorized to make, the French ambassador was ordered to demand his passports, and leave Madrid as soon as possible. These new propositions were comprised in a second despatch, which Count de la Garde was directed to read to the Spanish monarch. It announced, that the Duke of Angouleme was about to place himself at the head of 100,000 French troops upon the frontier; that if his Majesty, released from his captivity, and placed at the head of his army, should be permitted to advance to the banks of the Bidassoa, in order to treat with the French commander, a lasting and firm peace might be secured to the two kingdoms, the ancient and close connection between France and Spain be restored, and the fleets, armies, and resources of France, be placed, from that moment, entirely at the disposal of his Catholic Majesty. It was added, that France did not pretend to dictate to Spain the precise modifications she ought to adopt in her constitutional code; but that she might not be accused of having left her wishes unexplained, she avowed, that she would not renew her relations of amity with that country until a system was adopted, in concert with, and by the consent of, the king, which would alike secure the just privileges of the monarch and the liberties of the nation; nor until a general act of amnesty was promulgated in favour of every individual who had been persecuted for political offences, from the formation of the Con-

stitution, in 1812, down to the present period. On the same day the contents of this despatch were made known to the Spanish minister; who answered it with an indignant negative, and immediately sent to M. de la Garde the necessary passports, who forthwith set off from Madrid, on his return to Paris.

Though this circumstance removed to a greater distance all hopes of accommodation between the two countries, Lord Somerset did not relax in his endeavours to prosecute the object of his mission. In a particular manner, his lordship explained himself to general Alava, the personal friend of the Duke of Wellington, opening to him the precise nature of the commission with which he was charged. After impressing upon that individual, that England demanded nothing of Spain, and that he suggested nothing officially from the British government, his lordship read to him the Duke of Wellington's memorandum. Unprepared for such a communication, general Alava appeared a good deal startled at it, expressing at once his conviction, that it would be impossible for him to assist in the attainment of the object which that memorandum proposed. He fully admitted the liberal conduct pursued by the British government at Verona towards Spain; was sensibly affected with the value of the Duke of Wellington's exertions on that occasion, and of his constant solicitude to promote the happiness, and secure the independence, of Spain; but in the present irritated state of the nation, he thought it impossible to prevail upon any party to adopt the suggestions which were recommended. He, however, acknowledged the discrepancies of the Constitution, and admitted the propriety of taking into consideration the expediency of modifying it hereafter, when such a proceeding should be legal. He was sensible of the imminent danger to which the country was exposed, and he knew war to be the inevitable consequence of a refusal to listen to the propositions offered. But the condition of affairs rendering a present change impracticable, the Spanish government had, in his opinion, nothing to do but to wait the evil which it could not avert. His lordship, however, succeeded in prevailing upon the general, as an act of personal kindness to himself, and of duty to the country, to communicate to some of the deputies

of the cortes, the nature of the commission with which he was charged.

While these proceedings were in progress at Madrid, the French ministers were still labouring to persuade the British ambassador at Paris, and through him the English government, that they were still anxious for the preservation of peace. Chateaubriand stated to Sir Charles Stuart, that his royal master was laid under a kind of necessity of assuming a decisive tone in his discourse to the legislature; and that in announcing the cessation of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, it was necessary to make it apparent, that they could not be renewed until the origin of the mischief, with which the Spanish revolution menaced neighbouring states, should be removed. This object, he affirmed, could only be accomplished by Spain assimilating her institutions to those of other limited monarchies, under an act on the part of the king of Spain, declaring the Constitution to emanate from the crown. At the same time, Sir C. Stuart was requested, that this view of the French cabinet might be conveyed through Sir W. A'Court to the ministers of Spain, and that the latter would press upon them the expediency of not refusing to admit the only measure of which it was possible, in the present situation of things, to take advantage.

On the very same day that the French minister made use of this language, (January 28th,) it was reiterated in the speech of the French monarch, on the opening of the chambers.—This document, on which the court of France has been justly charged with holding principles inimical to every free state, seemed to obliterate every reasonable hope that still remained for accommodation. The following extract is sufficiently explicit to warrant this conclusion:—

“France owed to Europe the example of a prosperity, which people cannot obtain but by the return to religion—to legitimacy—to order—to true liberty. That salutary example she now gives. But divine justice permits, that, after having for a long time made other nations suffer the terrible effects of our disorders, we should ourselves be exposed to dangers, brought about by similar calamities among a neighbouring people. I have made every endeavour to guarantee the security of my people, and to preserve Spain herself from the ex

tremity of misfortune. The infatuation with which the representations made at Madrid have been rejected, leaves little hopes of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of my minister: one hundred thousand Frenchmen, commanded by a prince of my family—by him whom my heart delights to call my son—are ready to march, invoking the God of St. Louis, for the sake of preserving the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV.—of saving that fine kingdom from ruin, and of reconciling it with Europe. Our stations are about to be reinforced in those places where our maritime commerce has need of that protection. Cruisers shall be established every where, wherever our arrivals can possibly be annoyed. If war is inevitable, I will use all my endeavours to narrow its circle, to limit its duration; it will be undertaken only to conquer a peace, which the present state of Spain would render impossible. *Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give to his people institutions, WHICH THEY CANNOT HOLD BUT FROM HIM, and which, by securing their tranquillity, would dissipate the just inquietudes of France—hostilities shall cease from that moment. I make, gentlemen, before you, this solemn engagement.*”

Of this speech, only one opinion could exist, at least among those who entertained any correct notions of, or set the slightest value on, constitutional liberty. In England, its doctrines were reprobated with unmeasured severity; and to its eternal honour, the British cabinet was no way solicitous of concealing its abhorrence of the sentiments it conveyed. Let Mr. Canning speak for the rest of his colleagues. That distinguished gentleman, on laying the official correspondence before parliament, referring to this document, speaks of it in the following terms:—

“Of the principles avowed in that speech with respect to the Spanish Constitution, no one can think with more pain, to use no stronger expression, than I do. If the Spaniards had been called upon to make such and such modifications of their institutions, because they threatened the safety of their neighbour, while they formed a bar to their own improvement, it is possible to conceive that such a demand might have been urged, and might have been listened to; but when it was broadly stated, that Spain could only hold her institutions from the king, that she must reinstate him in absolute power,

that he might divest himself of as small a portion of it as he thought fit; this was putting the proposal in a shape which no Spanish minister could be expected to admit, and which certainly no British statesman could ever be found to recommend. Under such circumstances, it was necessary to tell them plainly, that if such was the meaning of the speech, there must be an end of all negotiation through us, and that it could proceed no further; that this principle was one which no British statesman could recommend; it was a principle which struck at the British Constitution—and which we could never submit to acknowledge.”

To men of but slight sagacity, the tenor of the French king's speech was so much in opposition to the professions of a pacific character, which the ministers of France still affected to hold, as to render their duplicity palpable and obvious. A writer on this subject has developed the deception with great accuracy, and I am not aware it can be better exposed than by quoting his observations. “Notwithstanding,” says he, “the decided declaration of Louis in one part of the discourse, there was in another part of it an insinuation, that war was not inevitable, an insinuation so evidently at variance with the announcements previously made, that it would seem to have been thrown in for the purpose of inducing the British government to believe, that the efforts in which they were engaged for the maintenance of peace might not be fruitless. M. de Villelè, indeed, endeavoured to convince Sir Charles Stuart, that the violent alternative, to which the king referred, was mentioned in a conditional sense; and notwithstanding the strong evidence of preparations for hostilities, both this minister, and his colleague, M. de Chateaubriand, answered the representations of the ambassador by assurances that they yet continued to entertain hopes of peace. I confess I am at a loss to reconcile these assurances of the French ministers, not only with the king's discourse, but with the tenor of that despatch which they had already transmitted to Count la Garde, for the purpose of being first read to his Catholic Majesty, and then communicated to M. San Miguel. In that despatch propositions were made, though in a vague manner, which M. de Chateaubriand well knew never would be accepted by the Spanish government; and yet, as the alternative of their non-

acceptance, it was declared, that the Duke of Angouleme was about to march into Spain at the front of a hundred thousand men. No!—the French government had no hope, and, indeed, I may add, no wish, that the efforts of England should succeed. It was their object, from the beginning, to dissolve the Spanish Constitution, to obtain for the king more power, that he might use it hereafter in such a manner as to give France a permanent interest in Spain, and promote their joint views upon the South American states. Hence the offer on the part of France, of placing her fleets, armies, and resources, at the disposal of his Catholic Majesty. Mr. Canning was not deceived by these assurances on the part of France. He received the construction put upon the king's speech with a hesitation which shews he did not believe it to be true; but, at the same time, he was bound in courtesy to hear it, and he was resolved not to shut the door of conciliation, which, the French minister said, was still open. But as for the principle, that the Spaniards could hold their institutions only from the sovereign, Mr. Canning at once declared, that the Spanish nation could not be expected to subscribe to it, nor would the British government ever sanction such a principle. An explanation was demanded on this point, before Mr. Canning would proceed further; and M. de Chateaubriand gave a softened version to the words, which they certainly were not originally intended to convey, namely, that in order to give stability to any modification of the present system in Spain, and to afford sufficient assurances to France, to justify her in discontinuing her warlike preparations, the king of Spain must be a party, and consent to such modification."

This altered tone on the part of France was neither directed by her wishes nor inclinations; but arose solely from the ebullition displayed by the people of England, both in and out of parliament, against the perfidy and treachery of the French nation, in wantonly attacking the liberties of a defenceless state. Perhaps there never was a political question, in which the British nation more unanimously displayed their sense of abhorrence, than at the invasion threatened by the French government. In the two houses of parliament, all the members seemed to forget their political hostilities. It is true, the responsible advisers of the king avoided those personal invective

tives against the ministers of Louis, which were indulged in without restraint by the opposition; but, at the same time, they reprobated the principle on which France founded her warlike demonstrations, with as little reserve as the systematic leaders of the opposition. In proof of this remark, I shall here quote an extract from the speech of the British secretary for foreign affairs, on laying before the House of Commons the official documents, relative to the negotiation, on the 4th of April, which, in my opinion, reflects the highest degree of credit on the principles which guided the British cabinet:—

Mr. Canning said, “He was aware, that to whatever determination the house might come, regarding the conduct of his Majesty’s ministers in the late negociations, strong difference of opinion had existed, and would still continue to exist, with regard to the propriety of our observing a strict neutrality in the impending contest between France and Spain. He knew that many individuals in this country thought, that the invasion of Spain, by a French force, ought to be considered by England as a declaration of war against herself. That opinion, he knew, was held by many persons of the first rank and the utmost respectability in the state; but of that opinion he would state, that it could not receive any support from either justice or the policy of the state. When he said that it could not receive any support from justice, he did not mean to say, that such a war would be absolutely unjust on our part, but that there would be no adequate ground on which we could be called to interfere in it. War, in the responsibility of those who had to make it, ought to be well and duly weighed before it was resolved on; the cause should not merely be sufficient, but urgent; and not merely urgent, but absolutely consistent with the interest and welfare of the country which first declared it. In making these observations, did he cast any blame upon those, who, seeing a strong and powerful nation eager to crush and overwhelm with its vengeance a less numerous but not less gallant people, were anxious to join the weaker against the stronger party? Certainly not—the feeling was highly honourable to those who entertained it. The bosoms in which it existed in full bloom and vigour, unchastened and unalloyed by any other feeling, were much more happy than those in which that feeling was chastened, tempered, and mitigated by the considerations of prudence, interest, and expediency. He not only knew, but he absolutely envied the feelings of those who called for war, for the issue of which they were in no wise likely to be responsible: for he would confess that the reasoning by which the war against Spain was justified, appeared to him to be much more calculated than the war itself to excite a strong feeling against those who had projected it; and he must likewise add, with all due respect to those who defended it, that he could not understand by what process of reasoning, or by what confusion of ideas, they contrived to persuade themselves that they had made out any thing which approached even to a shadow of a case. They had been

foolish enough to institute a comparison between the conduct of France at this moment, and the conduct of Great Britain in 1793. But what, he would ask, had Spain ever done that was at all analogous to the celebrated decree of the 19th November, made by the French republicans? What country had Spain ever attempted to seize, or to revolutionize? What independent state had she invaded in any manner that could be compared with the invasion of Geneva, of Savoy, and of Avignon, by France—states that had been ravaged and plundered by their invaders before any notice of their intention was given, and even before their inhabitants had time to draw a sword in their defence? If the whole of Europe had formerly combined against France, it was not because she had refused to amend her political institutions on the demand of foreigners, but because she had declared her resolution, in the first instance, to propagate as widely as possible her pestiferous doctrines, and had provided means, in the second, to carry them all over Europe by the terror of her armies and the power of her sword. There was no analogy between the case of Spain and that of the French republic; and of all the powers which ought to think of reading such a lesson to Spain, even if the analogy existed, France was the very last! France, whose oppression and tyranny had created that very Constitution in Spain, which it was now the foremost in condemning and reprobating! That France should be the first to complain of that Constitution, which was the consequence of her own unjust aggression, was the event, which, of all others, he should have least expected. He was not, therefore, surprised to find, that many individuals were for deterring France from her present invasion of Spain by something stronger than state-papers and remonstrances. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to state, that he had heard that there were some persons who thought, that though it might not be prudent to make war, it might still be prudent to menace war against France upon this account. These individuals he conceived to be guilty of an error in principle, as the country which menaced war, ought always to be ready to carry those menaces into execution. There were other individuals who were guilty of an error of a different kind; he meant an error of opinion. They thought this country should immediately send forth a maritime armament to watch the events that might occur on the shores of the Peninsula. Such a course, in his humble opinion, would be unworthy a great and independent nation like our own, and would degrade it from a first to a secondary power. He did hope, that whenever it determined upon war, it would determine to wage it, not as an auxiliary, but as a principal. Such had hitherto been its policy, and on all former occasions, when it had resorted to war, it had exerted every nerve to bring it to a safe, a speedy, and an honourable conclusion. "*Toto certatum est corpore regni.*" This, he contended, was the only sound view in which war could be contemplated, and he differed entirely from those who considered the subject in any other manner. The determination of the government was for neutrality—and for what neutrality? The house would give him leave to say, for an honest and

real neutrality. Any other would be unworthy of the nation. The choice was between neutrality and war. If they meant war, let them openly choose it; but, if they called for neutrality, let it not be neutrality under the mask of non-interference with one party, whilst a covert support was given to the other. If they asked him what were the lines, rules, and limits, of a just neutrality, he would tell them in one word. There was a golden maxim, which applied as well to politics as to morals—"Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." But to England he would say, "Do unto others what you have *made* others do unto you." For a quarter of a century, this country had laid down the law of nations to the whole world; she had laid down, most clearly, the code by which neutrals were to be guided. From the learning, the acuteness, and the talents, which had been employed in its formation, and from the recognized justice and purity of its principle, it stood, he believed, unquestioned throughout the world; and if they did not question it themselves, it would, he was convinced, go down to posterity as one of the greatest monuments of learning, wisdom, and integrity, that had ever appeared in any age. He alluded to the code which had been compiled from the decisions of Sir W. Scott. There were two points on which his Majesty's ministers might be questioned—first, whether it was proper that a system of neutrality should be acted on? and next, whether, at the congress at Verona, they ought not to have accepted from both parties that undefined offer, short of mediation, and without a distinct definition of the principle on which their good offices would be received, which had then been made? The complaint of France against Spain, whether well founded or not, was, that the disquieted state of her internal institutions placed the tranquillity of France in jeopardy; and the counter-statement of Spain was, that the army of observation, which France had marched to her frontier, disquieted the people. It was between these points that they had to strike the balance, without considering, whether France sinned more against Spain in calling for preliminary conciliation, or Spain against France in desiring her to withdraw her army. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to negotiate. This was a case of a very novel nature, differing entirely from those in which a portion of territory having been captured, or a number of ships having been seized, there were tangible points for discussion, which could easily be adjudged. What was wanting in this instance to preserve peace was, that Spain should make some change in her Constitution, (a Constitution which she had unquestionably a right to form,) and that France should withdraw her army of observation. The promise of actual and efficient support to Spain, this country was not prepared to give; and the case ministers had to consider was this, whether they should withdraw from the question altogether, and treat it with perfect indifference? Indifference they could never feel towards the affairs of Spain; and he earnestly hoped, that she would come triumphantly out of this struggle. But he should not speak truly, if he did not say, that he was perfectly convinced, the first result of her success and pacification must be, the adoption of

those alterations in her system which they had recommended. But whether Spain or France were successful, he must ever feel a perfect conviction, in considering the extent of misery which might be occasioned by the contest, that if Spain had given way in a slight degree on the one part, and the army of observation had been withdrawn on the other, any unpleasant feeling would have been swallowed up and lost sight of in the immensity of the benefit which would have been produced; they would not then have had to deplore that state of warfare, the risk of which was incalculably great, and the issue of which it was impossible to foresee."

It should be remarked, that when Mr. Canning gave the above view of the sentiments of the British cabinet, and of the line of policy which our government determined to pursue, the decision for war had already been adopted by the court of France. But before the latter could be apprised of our intended neutrality, and while yet the negotiations were pending, the disclosure of English opinion evidently produced a softened tone on the part of France. When the state of feeling, in the British nation, on the injustice of the invasion, was known to the French government, its ministers stated, with clearness, the abated expectations with which France would be satisfied. They said, that if, through the intervention of Great Britain, an offer were made from Spain for the establishment of a second chamber, they would consider it as affording reasonable grounds for suspending their warlike preparations, and replacing the relations between the two countries upon the footing of peace. The despatch from our minister at Paris, of the date of the 10th of February, explained, that by the establishment of a second chamber was meant, the erection of the council of state into a deliberative body, upon the principle of the American senate; the nomination of the counsellors being vested in the king, as already provided by the Constitution, on the presentation of the cortes.

At this time there were, doubtless, many of the Spanish deputies, and other leading characters, who were well affected towards some alterations in the constitutional code, but variety of opinions existed as to the extent to which those alterations were to be carried; and besides, none were willing to place their views before the cortes, as any proposition of this nature would be in the teeth of the law, which prohibited even the correction of the original Constitution before the arrival of a

given period On the one hand, the secret dagger of the comuneros, and on the other, the furious assaults of the *exalted* members of the cortes, were apprehended. Each party was distrustful of the other; and though either would probably have yielded, if it could have implicitly relied on the concurrence of its opposite, yet neither would seem to concede, for fear of being censured and overcome. In speaking on this subject, a writer at that time in Madrid, who has given to the world the fruits of his observation, says, that if the proposition had been manfully brought forward, it probably would have found numerous supporters, not only in the country, the cortes, and the council of state, but even in quarters where support was least expected. There was not a sensible man in Madrid who heard of the suggestions of Great Britain—if the recommendations of the Duke of Wellington are entitled to such an appellation—who did not privately confess his wishes that they were adopted. But still, so unnecessarily apprehensive were they of “the nation,” that in public they either maintained a dark silence on the subject, or, forgetting the perils to which the Constitution was exposed, in their irresistible passion for national boasting, they gave it a direct negative.

The way in which the Spaniards at this time treated their perilous situation, was somewhat ludicrous. When a prudent compliance was urged for the proposed alterations, they treated the proposal as an insult. To the representation, that the troops of France would march on Madrid, and establish the French charter, their reply was, that the French would not dare to approach their capital; that if they should act with such temerity, successful resistance would instantly follow; that conscriptions were going on all over the country, and numerous patriotic armies collecting; that the poverty of the treasury was of little consequence, as their troops could live upon garlic, and fight without uniforms; and that as to arms, there were abundance in the country since the conclusion of the late war. When it was inquired, how can you expect that raw undisciplined soldiers, just called from the plough, will be able to oppose themselves to well-organized veterans? the answer was, we will annoy them with our guerilla parties, depend on the native courage of the people, and on that en-

thusiasm inspired by a sense of insult. There were, however, men of discernment, who, while they deprecated the surrender of the capital, saw no reasonable ground for hoping that the progress of an enemy could be arrested, whenever he should put himself in motion.

Very angry feelings had been excited at Madrid from the general tenor of the French king's speech, and particularly that part of it which gave to Ferdinand the exclusive right of emanating political institutions. Previously, there was a respectable number who felt comparatively small reluctance to the entrance of the French, viewing them only as enemies to violent democracy; but few of these very individuals were at the same time inclined to say, that the country was the patrimony of Ferdinand VII. The opposition, which the Spanish Constitution met with, did not proceed so much from personal attachment to the monarch, as from the injuries it inflicted on various interests, particularly those of the church and the nobility, by the decrees of the first, and especially of the second cortes. It is a question of doubt, indeed, whether the king at that time was popular with any class of his subjects. With regard to his personal character, it was generally represented as unamiable. As far as the authority of the late ruler of France goes, and he is allowed to have had a quick perception of the human character, this portraiture of Ferdinand is corroborated. Napoleon has declared, that the two most deceitful men he had ever met with in all his experience, were, Alexander of Russia, and Ferdinand of Spain.

In a former part of this work, I have quoted a passage from Mr. Blaquiere, in which the personal character of the Spanish monarch is treated with some respect, though that gentleman admits, that his authority was subject to the suspicion of partiality. The author of a "Visit to Spain," on whose credit I rest for the correctness of the incidents of this period of the history, seems inclined to coincide with the opinion implied in Buonaparte's declaration. He says, that instances have been known, where Ferdinand smoked segars, and carried on the most familiar conversation with a minister, to whom, in two hours after, he sent an order of banishment. It was said also, that his conduct to the queen was not of the most engaging description; and as her Majesty was an

universal favourite, it may be inferred, he had few champions wherever the ladies exercised any influence, and in Spain that influence recognizes no limits. In designating Ferdinand, therefore, as the grandson of Henry IV. or in mentioning his name at all, the French cabinet betrayed great ignorance of the state of feeling at Madrid. This made an unfavourable impression upon the party who had formerly espoused the interests of king Joseph; and among Spaniards in general, it only recalled the memory of the comparatively recent transplantation of a branch of the Bourbon family into Spain.

Sir W. A'Court, on the 4th of February, in order to prevent the adoption of any violent measures resulting from the arrival at Madrid of the French king's speech, hastened to communicate to the Spanish foreign minister the contents of a despatch which he had just received from the British ambassador at Paris. This official paper stated, that the views professed by the French cabinet were, that peace might still be preserved through the exertions of England, and by concessions on the part of Spain. After the whole had been read to M. San Miguel, he broke out into violent exclamations against the general conduct of the French government, and expressed his conviction, that a war was now inevitable. He remarked, that Spain would never admit that the Constitution emanated from the monarch, nor recognize any other sovereignty than that of the people; that she was prepared to repel force by force, and that France would find the war a much more serious undertaking than she seemed to imagine it would be. There was another point in the French king's speech, which M. San Miguel, in a subsequent conversation, put forward very prominently, namely, that in it there was an evident acknowledgment of an intention to establish a permanent French interest in Spain. With respect to modifications, he observed, there was no party in Spain, however often the ministry were changed, who would dare to propose them until the period prescribed by the Constitution should arrive; and that if any expectations of an opposite nature had been entertained, they would assuredly be disappointed. The Spanish minister added, however, that the door of negociation was not closed, and he still had hopes from the friendship and good offices of England.

To engage England the more ardently in the Spanish interest, and to secure her co-operation if France should proceed to extremities, arguments were urged from a variety of quarters. It was insinuated, that the throne of Spain had been, with very little interruption, since the accession of the house of Bourbon, in a state of vassalage to the French monarchy. Almost every article of foreign manufacture which Spain required, she was obliged to take from France, while the latter drew from her to the annual amount of thirty millions in hard dollars. There was a free passage for the products of France in her cloths, cottons, and linens, over the Pyrenees, and from the port of Marseilles; while the ports of Spain were closed against these articles from Great Britain and Ireland. It was represented, that there never was so favourable a moment as the present to emancipate the kingdom from the tyrannic grasp of France, and, the opportunity once lost, might never again occur. If the French should ultimately succeed in beating down the Constitution of Spain, and substituting in its place their own charter, the Peninsula would more rigorously than ever be subjected to their political and commercial influence. It was further intimated, that England, by interposing her formidable power, had it now in her choice to open a channel for transferring the yearly receipt of those thirty millions of dollars into the coffers of her own merchants, which had long gone to enrich France; or that, upon terms still more advantageous, she might take in exchange the wines, the fruits, and the wools, of the Peninsula.—England could not but discover the advantages which these tempting representations involved; but declined purchasing them at the price of a war, which, had she interfered hostilely, would have spread itself throughout the continent of Europe.

The Spanish government, in the mean time, gave some indications of warlike preparation. Ballasteros was appointed to command in Aragon and Navarre; Morillo, the army in Galicia; Mina to continue in Catalonia; and Abisbal to command the corps of reserve in the capital and the neighbouring provinces. In fact, however, no armies as yet existed to be commanded, except from fifteen to twenty thousand men in Catalonia, and four or five thousand in and near Madrid. The principal hopes of the government, for the augmentation of

the forces, seemed to rest upon the popularity and activity of Ballasteros and Morillo in the provinces which they commanded; and for supplying the necessary funds for these purposes, the cortes authorized the government to receive the contributions in advance of the three remaining quarters of the current financial year. They likewise gave power to the government to receive arrears of contributions in corn, rice, oil, and such useful stores as the debtor to the revenue might possess.

In concluding the present chapter, and before I enter upon the interesting events which immediately follow the present period, I shall again recur to an historical fact, which has before been adverted to, namely, the circumstances attendant upon Ferdinand's restoration. Of the base and politic conduct of that prince, in tearing up by the roots a system which he had promised to consolidate, and in persecuting those who had preserved for him his throne, there is but little difference of opinion. It was to this treachery that Spain owes all its evils. But there have been very different representations as to the share which England had in the promotion of Ferdinand's object. Having, in a preceding part of this work, adopted a view of this question which indirectly casts a censure on the British cabinet, I shall avail myself of the statement of a late writer, who has distinguished himself at once as an intelligent and impartial historian, and whose narrative, if correct, exonerates the British name from participating in the odium implied in sanctioning the measures of the Spanish monarch.

"Sir Henry Wellesley," says he, "who was at that time (the period of Ferdinand's restoration,) our ambassador to the regency, went to Valencia to meet the king on his return. It has been said, that Sir Henry took that journey in order to prevail on the king to annul the Constitution, and that he supplied his majesty with the funds, and even the bayonets, necessary to carry that project into effect. There were at that time two divisions of Spaniards in British pay; one commanded by general Sir Samuel Whittingham, the other by general Sir Philip Roche. The former was stationed in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and the latter was blockading Saguntum, within about four leagues of Valencia, and at that time in the occupation of a French garrison, commanded by general

Rouelle. Upon the arrival of the king at Valencia, he was influenced by the address of the seventy-two deputies, as well as by the reports of several ecclesiastical dignitaries and noblemen who had crowded around him—or rather, indeed, he affected to be influenced by them, for he had taken his determination on entering the Peninsula—and he expressed his resolution to dissolve the cortes. This, however, was not to be done without the aid of the military, and accordingly some of the king's confidential agents opened the matter to general Whittingham, and soon prevailed on him to march on Guadalajara. When a similar application was made to general Roche, he communicated it to Sir Henry, without whose orders he said he would not stir. Sir Henry thanked him for the communication, and approved of his resolution. From these circumstances it is evident, that Sir Henry Wellesley did not sanction the movement of the troops on Madrid. With respect to the funds which it is said he supplied to the king, it is true that Sir Henry Wellesley furnished him with four thousand dollars for the decent support of his table whilst at Valencia; but this was the total of his accommodation—a sum which, even if not applied to the expenses of the king, could have had very little influence on the subversion of the Constitution. Independent of this negative evidence, which I have received from a competent and respectable authority, it has been since declared by the Earl of Liverpool, in his place in the House of Lords, that Sir Henry Wellesley advised the king to modify, but not to abrogate, the Constitution. It may be doubted whether his Catholic Majesty caused greater injury to his subjects, by totally annulling the Constitution upon his return in 1814, than he did by accepting it in its objectionable form in 1820. Too violent at the former period, and too timorous at the latter, he might, under the guidance of firm counsels, have resolved in either case upon a modified system, which would have confirmed freedom and peace upon his people. At the same time it may not be denied, that the Constitution, such as it was, touched the slumbering intellect of the nation, and awakened it to new life and exertion."

CHAPTER XV.

The King moved to quit Madrid—He objects—His Majesty's Speech on the Close of the Session—Royal Decree for changing the Ministry—Popular Commotions in Madrid—The Ministry restored—New Nomination frustrated by the Cortes—The King pressed to quit the capital, and accedes—Close of the Negotiations—Ferdinand's Indisposition—Extraordinary Expedients to raise Supplies—The King quits Madrid—Departure of the Cortes—Disaffection of the Provinces—Progress of the British Minister to Seville—Entrance of the King into that City—Public Feeling in Seville and Cadiz.

As the probability of invasion increased, the government redoubled its efforts to meet the emergency. About the 4th of February, 1823, amongst other measures determined upon by the ministers, was one which indicated a near approach of danger, that of the removal of his majesty and royal family, the government and cortes, from Madrid to Seville. On the question being moved to the king, he positively declared he would never agree to it; making various remarks upon the inconvenience which such a measure would create, and discouraging the project with all the influence he possessed. The cortes, however, in their sitting of the 15th, decreed an authority to the government for removing its residence, but reserving to his majesty the nomination of the place. To obtain the sanction of the king to this decree, the ministry went in a body to him, and presented to him a request, in writing, that he would name a place to which the government might be removed, and likewise appoint a day for carrying the measure into effect. They pressed the subject of the paper which they presented with several arguments, and, according to their report of this interview, published in the Madrid papers under their influence, no uncourteous or rude expressions were made use of, though they were charged, by Ferdinand's personal adherents, with having left the apartment of his majesty whistling or singing, in token of contempt.

In a conversation, however, which Bertrand de Lais had with the king on the morning of the 19th, the latter did not hesitate to declare how personally disagreeable it was to him

to be urged to quit the capital, particularly as there appeared to be no sufficient cause existing for such a step ; adding, that by taking him to a less important place, it would be concluded he possessed no liberty, but was under the control of a faction ; and that the enemies of the Constitution might avail themselves of such a pretence, to render it subservient to their purposes, and detrimental to the interests of the country. An open rupture, it was now apparent, must immediately occur between his majesty and the ministry. Indeed, reports of an entire change had been current for several days ; and it was understood, that an arrangement for such a step was to be declared immediately after the termination of the session, an event which was to take place on the 19th. One of the articles of the constitutional code precluded any member of the council of state from accepting any office in the appointment of the crown ; but when Bessieres was almost at the gates of Madrid, the cortes suddenly repealed that law. Among the new appointments were several individuals who belonged to the council ; but on the day before the termination of the session, the old ministry had sufficient influence to induce the cortes to rescind the decree of suspension, by which they effectually dissolved the proposed new administration, on the ground of ineligibility. Things were thus situated on the morning of the 19th, when the cortes assembled ; and the king, being unable to attend from an affliction of the gout, the president read, in the name of his majesty, the following speech, which the secretary of state for the interior handed to him :—

“ Deputies,—On closing the session of this extraordinary legislature, I feel happy in expressing my satisfaction and gratitude for the decision, the patriotism, and the zeal, which have shone forth in all your labours. A necessity has arisen for some sacrifices, both in men and money, in order to remedy the evils of the state ; and the salutary effects which I expected, have corresponded to the promptitude with which they have been granted. The factious, who meditated the ruin of the fundamental law, are yielding the field to the valour of the national troops. That junta of perjured men, who titled themselves the Regency of Spain, have disappeared like smoke ; and the rebels, who calculated on such secure and easy victories, have already begun to feel the severe results of their folly.

The soldiers who sustain the national cause with so much glory, are worthy of every praise; and among the consolations which victory has given them, it will not be the least, that the extraordinary cortes have occupied themselves in giving them regulations analogous to the fundamental code which governs them. This work, already far advanced, is a sure guarantee for them, that the civil and military laws will be soon in harmony; and that that difference between both, which has caused so many inconveniences, resentments, and disputes, shall soon cease to exist. Other labours, equally useful, have distinguished this extraordinary legislature. The regulation of the police, the law of replacement, the measures conceded to my government for the purpose of consolidating the constitutional system, and others besides, presented to the cortes within this period, attest the assiduity, the constancy, and the advantage with which the representatives of the nation have fulfilled the trusts reposed in them. Several of the sittings of this legislature will be celebrated for the pure patriotism which it exhibited. It has decreed rewards to those who, on the 7th of July, deserved well of their country; and the principal leaders, who distinguished themselves in that memorable event, have presented themselves at its bar. The sittings of the 9th and 11th of January will shine above all, and will form the chief lustre of this extraordinary cortes. The shout of national honour resounded in the sanctuary of the laws in the sublimest manner; and all Spaniards have felt, that there is nothing comparable to the felicity of having a country. Some diplomatic relations have been interrupted during the sitting of this cortes; but these disagreements of cabinet with cabinet have augmented the moral force of the nation, in the eyes of the whole of that part of the civilized world which has any regard for honour, probity, and justice. On seeing that Spain does not surrender herself to degradation, they will have formed an idea of her firm character, and of the auspicious influence of those institutions which govern her. The king of France has intimated to the two chambers of the legislature, his intentions with respect to Spain. Mine are already public, and have been delivered in the most solemn manner. Valour, decision, constancy, love of national independence, and the conviction, more deep than ever, of the necessity of preserving

the constitutional code of 1812: these are the vigorous answers which a nation ought to give to the anti-social principles promulgated in the speech of the most Christian king. The circumstances in which our public interests are placed, are of a grave character; but nothing ought to induce my government, or the cortes, to give ground. My firm and constant union with the deputies of the nation, will be a sure pledge of the success, and of the new days of glory which await us. The day of again opening the session of cortes is near. A new field of patriotism is about to offer itself to the representatives of the nation, and new motives to me to make my sentiments known to the world.

“Palace, Feb. 19.”

“FERNANDO.”

With the above speech was closed the session of the extraordinary cortes, about the middle of the day, and in an hour afterwards, a royal decree, countersigned by the minister of finance, was communicated to all the other members of the cabinet, acquainting them, that his Majesty would dispense with their future services. In a few hours after this event took place, the circumstance was known in every part of the capital; but it seemed to excite but little feeling of alarm. It was inquired, indeed, who were the successors of the ministers; but it was a question which nobody could answer, as, in fact, no new administration had been formed. The transactions which followed this act of dismissal, have been well related in letters from Madrid, and published in one of our respectable English journals. I shall, therefore, adopt the substance of that narrative, and especially as the facts recorded have not only never been controverted, but corroborated from other sources.

About seven o'clock in the evening of the day on which the royal decree was issued, it was observed that a crowd of between four and five hundred persons, formed of groups which had come from different parts of the city, proceeded in a body to the king's palace. They were followed, or soon after joined, by perhaps an equal number, who appeared only desirous of being spectators of their proceedings. The whole found admittance into the square before the palace, immediately under the windows of the king's drawing-room. Some attempts were certainly made to penetrate into the palace, but

they were frustrated by the guards on duty, and the gates of the building were closed. Considerable confusion followed; the drums beat to arms; the militia, infantry and cavalry, were called out, who formed, in an uninterrupted line, in front of the palace, and kept the populace at a distance of ten or twelve paces from it. From different parts of this crowd, a confused sound of voices was heard; on one spot the question of the removal of the ministry was discussed, and reprobated in acrimonious terms; while on another, the eyes of numbers were directed towards the windows of the drawing-room, and these bellowed forth peremptory demands, that the king should present himself at the balcony. This cry was accompanied with others, such as "*Viva el ministerio!*" and "*Regencia!*"—"The ministry for ever!" "A regency!"—thus intimating to the king, if he heard them, that he must re-appoint the ex-ministry, or submit to be deposed by a regency. These cries were repeated every moment by distinct, though unvarying, voices from different parts of the crowd; and sometimes a particular group would shout them in chorus, accompanying them with execrations, and expressions of the most seditious character. One man, a militiaman, not on duty, stood before the balcony, and pointing towards the window, as if the king were there, he delivered himself to the following effect: "Tyrant, it is now nine years since you were restored to your throne by the valour and generosity of the Spanish people. Where is your gratitude? How have you discovered a sense of the foolish love we bore you? You destroyed our Constitution as soon as you came amongst us; and now that it has been happily re-established, you have attempted, tiger as you are! to destroy it a second time. Citizens! is this man fit to be our king?"—"Down with the tyrant," "Depose him from the throne," "Deprive him of his crown," "Kill him," "Imprison him in a fortress:" These were literally some of the answers which he received from a few individuals in the crowd.—It was observed, that the incendiary, who uttered these diabolical expressions, moved afterwards to other parts of the crowd, and endeavoured to excite them by like speeches. But by far the greater part of the populace were mere spectators, who took no part in the proceedings.

At nine o'clock in the evening, the crowd still continued in

the palace square—still no ministry was appointed. A militia officer was moving about among the people, enforcing, with all the influence he could command, this maxim, “that he who removed the ministry would rob Spain of her liberty.” Four or five militiamen also, whose uniforms appeared under their cloaks, were making it their business to go about, from group to group, employing violent harangues, and calling the king *un tonto*—an idiot, who was unfit to reign. It was also industriously propagated, that when the ministry represented to his majesty the necessity of his removal from Madrid, he treated them in the most offensive and contemptuous manner. This manœuvre was hit upon, to counteract a contrary report that had been in general circulation in the morning, which ascribed to the ministers an indecent and uncourteous behaviour toward the sovereign. Before ten o’clock, the ayuntamiento, or municipality, sent a deputation to the king, with a remonstrance, and an exaggerated statement, that great commotions prevailed in the capital, and peremptorily calling upon his majesty to reinstate the ministry. The agitators in the crowd soon became acquainted with this message, which served but to encourage their violence, and they loudly threatened the king, that unless he restored the ministers, they must have a regency. *Regencia! regencia!* was again vociferated with increased violence; and it was observed by a spectator, on whose authority this statement is given, that some persons of mean and ferocious aspects, carried poniards and swords under their cloaks. During this commotion, the council of state was sitting.

The crowd had considerably diminished, and was rapidly declining, when the palace clock struck eleven; but to those who remained, it soon became known, that the king had consented to restore his discarded servants, and they dispersed with shouts of triumph. It appears, that at a quarter past ten the king had signed a decree, suspending that which he had issued in the morning “for the present,” accompanied with a request, that the ministers would continue the exercise of their functions. By command of his majesty, this decree was transmitted to the municipality, in order, as was stated that “tranquillity might be restored.” Thus the king commenced this eventful day with putting his signature to a speech eulogizing

the cortes, and claiming every confidence for his government : in a few hours after, he dismisses his ministers ; and, after leaving the nation without a government for nine hours, he re-appoints the same men whom he had disgraced.

Indecisive and insincere as Ferdinand has generally proved himself in public affairs, a good apology may be found for his conduct in this instance, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. The fact is, that the discarded ministry are chargeable with exciting the alarms and commotions among the people, from motives which no way added to their credit. In order to prevail upon his majesty to restore them, it was represented, that Madrid was all in commotion, and that a large portion of the population was arming, and preparing to march on the palace, and massacre the king and royal family. These representations were entirely destitute of foundation ; but they so wrought upon the king's fears, as to produce the issue which they were intended to effect. Great blame has been thrown upon the ministry for the part they acted in this drama ; and it must be confessed, that there was every appearance of their having, if not originated, at least favoured, the popular ferment against the king. For several days after that on which these disturbances occurred, tumultuary crowds were suffered to parade the streets of the capital with impunity, vociferating seditious expressions, and calling out for a regency. Formal deputations also waited upon the municipality, demanding the adoption of this measure ; the popular orators were employed to harangue the multitude in favour of it ; and these disorders were suffered to continue, though twenty dragoons would have been sufficient to disperse the outrageous crowds, when their numbers and violence were at the highest. The people, however, seemed so little disposed to second the cries of the regency advocates, that the ferment died away of itself.

The decree which restored the ministry, contained, as before stated, the clause of, *for the present* ;—which was an indication of the intention of the king, or, more correctly, of the council of state, finally to remove them on the first convenient opportunity. After the events of the 19th of February, the latter body seriously applied themselves to carry this intention into execution ; and on the 28th of that month a new

ministry was actually nominated, whose character for respect of the king's authority was at least less suspicious. On the first of March, the session of the ordinary cortes was opened with a speech, which, in consequence of his majesty's absence through indisposition, was read by the president. It was couched in very general terms, except towards the conclusion, where the following declaration occurs:—"For my part, I again offer the national congress to co-operate, by my efforts, towards realizing the hopes entertained by the friends of the liberal institutions of Spain, by putting in execution all the means in my power to repel force by force. My seasonable removal, and that of the cortes, to a place less exposed to the influence of military operations, will paralyze the enemy's plans, and prevent any suspicion in the impulse of the government, the action of which ought to be communicated to every corner of the monarchy."

The king accepted, on the same day, the resignations of the ministers, who were directed to read their respective memorials to the cortes on their quitting office, and at the same time their successors were nominated. On the motion of Senor Canga, however, the cortes postponed the reading of the ministerial memorials; so that, in fact, neither the new nor the old ministry could fulfil the functions of government. The cortes next insisted, that his majesty should point out the place to which the government should be transferred; and after some hesitation, Seville was fixed upon; but no specific day was yet appointed for the departure of the royal family, and there is no question, but every member of that family wished it to be protracted to as distant a period as possible. His majesty's physicians represented, that his gout rendered him incapable of being removed, and even gave their opinion, that such a journey, in his present condition, would immediately endanger his life. Daily official reports of the king's health were communicated to the cortes, who, for an object which it is difficult to mistake, affected to think him even worse than he really was; as it afforded a plausible pretence, which was seized by Senor Rico, who declared, in one of the public sittings, that the time had arrived, when they ought to declare the king *physically impotent*. This declaration did not receive any direct countenance from the members, yet it passed uncensored.

In the mean time, every shadow of hope to preserve peace was put an end to. Sir W. A'Court had been requested to present some modified propositions from France, which were certainly less objectionable than any former ones, viz.—That the Spanish government should engage at a *future period* to modify its Constitution ; and in the meanwhile prove its good faith, by restoring the king to his physical liberty, and allowing him to frequent the country palaces and watering places ; by a general amnesty ; by the establishment of laws to regulate the press ; and by a change of ministry. Some expectations were formed, that these propositions would be listened to, in the distracted state of the country. But on the 11th of March, they were all totally extinguished by a declaration from M. San Miguel, that the Spanish government would not negotiate with France upon a basis which would seem to admit her pretensions to interfere in the internal affairs of the Peninsula. Thus terminated all diplomatic communications between France and Spain, directly or indirectly.

Ferdinand's physicians still continued to report his majesty's indisposition as incapacitating him from undertaking a journey ; when four new physicians were called in, three of whom declared their opinions to be, that the exercise of travelling would tend to alleviate his majesty's disease. On the 12th, the cortes ordered the certificates of the different physicians to be referred to a special commission ; and upon its report it was agreed, that a deputation should be sent to the king, to request him to fix some day before the 18th for his removal from the capital. The king's answer was, that he would be ready to leave Madrid on the 17th, if circumstances should render it necessary ; but if the cortes should not think that any imperative necessity arose before the 20th, he would be glad if his departure could be deferred to that day. He added, that if, however, an occasion should arise, which should render his departure expedient, he would be ready to go on any day, even before the 17th.

The cortes signified their acquiescence in the wishes expressed by his majesty, and accordingly the 20th was fixed for the departure of the government, with this reservation, that if an urgent necessity should occur, that departure should be accelerated. At this period no intelligence had been received

of the entry of the French within the Spanish frontier, though the news of that event was daily expected. Madrid, with the surrounding district, was declared in a state of war, and Count Abisbal, on account of the services he had performed in pursuing Bessieres, was appointed to the commandancy-general of the district, and named political chief of the province. By the removal of the government, it was known that the inhabitants of Madrid would suffer the most serious injuries, and, with a view of engaging them in opposition to the measure, a proclamation, without any date or signature, was circulated through the capital; but it produced no effect. The propriety of the removal was generally admitted, although they were well aware that they must suffer in their different interests. To shew the unprepared state of the government to meet the impending dangers of the country, it is sufficient to say, that the most formidable difficulties arose in carrying into effect the proposed measure within the prescribed period; and in order to procure supplies, it became necessary to have recourse to proceedings of an extraordinary character. They were obliged to melt down the king's plate, and to seize on all deposits of money which were in the hands of the junta of public credit,—making the treasury, however, responsible, in both cases, for repayment. They went further, and invaded the private property of a kind of incorporated body of merchants, owners of sheep, who every year sent their flocks for pasturage to Estremadura, for their general benefit. This society had a fund, about a hundred thousand dollars, lodged in the hands of the bankers in Madrid, and this sum was also forcibly seized to supply the present emergency, under the same precarious security.

The government, by these and such like expedients, at length succeeded in collecting a sufficient sum for the expenses of the journey; and it was definitively arranged, that the king and royal family should leave Madrid on the morning of the 20th, at eight o'clock, and proceed by short stages to Seville. It might have been expected, that so unusual an occurrence would have excited a strong feeling of interest in the capital. This, however, was not the case: although this arrangement was generally known, the concourse of spectators on that morning, in the square of the palace, was far from

being numerous. An eye-witness, whose authority is most respectable, thus relates the occurrence:—There was a considerable crowd at the gate of Toledo, which leads directly to the Andalusian road, and through which it was generally understood the cavalcade would pass. This belief was confirmed by the guards, who attended at the gate from an early hour. Amongst the crowd, there were of course persons of a thousand different sentiments, but all seemed dejected. They were mostly of the class of artists, tradesmen, shop-keepers, and of those citizens who were likely to suffer severely in their different individual interests, by the removal of the government. Several also of the families of those of the local militia, who volunteered to go with the king to Seville, were present, to take a final farewell of their husbands, fathers, and other relations, as they passed through the gate to join the escort, which was stationed at some distance from the road. In front of the palace, which looks toward the country, there is a private road, appropriated solely to the use of the royal family, which opens at a short distance from the palace, on the public way. At a quarter before eight, the king and queen were removed from the palace, in sedan chairs, through the private road to the gate which opened to the high road, where their carriage was waiting. The rest of the royal family followed in the same direction, their carriages being also in waiting. A slight escort was stationed at the gate; the main body, consisting of about 4000 men, infantry and cavalry, was stationed on the road leading to Andalusia. They then drove rapidly round to the Andalusian road, attended by the great officers of state, and thus avoided passing through the gate of Toledo, where the crowd waited until nine o'clock, when they were informed that the king had left Madrid an hour before, and they dispersed quietly, though evidently disappointed.

Four days after the king's departure from Madrid, the cortes, with their president and secretaries, together with the ministers of state and finance, set forward in the direction taken by his majesty. Five or six hundred infantry, and a small body of cavalry, formed their escort; very little bustle was manifested in the capital on their departure, and but few persons were collected at the gate of Toledo, to witness the procession.

It has already been noted, that Abisbal had been appointed to the chief command at Madrid, where he had under his command a force of about 4000 men: his personal ambition was gratified by this distinction, but subsequent events soon made it appear, that the confidence reposed in him by the constitutional government was ill-placed. It is not likely, indeed, if he had remained faithful to the constitutional cause, that the most zealous and discreet exercise of his authority could have presented a successful resistance to the arms of France; but a conduct, the reverse of that which he pursued, would at least have been more creditable to his personal character. The intelligence also received at this time, from most of the provinces, gave inauspicious presages of the final result of the struggle upon which the nation was now entering. A conscription had been decreed, which, if promptly executed, might have furnished a respectable force; but it went on in the most torpid manner, and out of every hundred horses seized, for the use of the cavalry, not more than ten were found fit for service. For each horse, the small sum of five or six pounds was allowed by the government, that is, a treasury order was given to that amount. Valuable horses were removed by their owners, and broken-down defective animals were substituted, not worth a dollar; and thus were the government carrying on a traffic, in which they were always the losers.

The youths, called out for the conscription in Galicia, absolutely refused to march to their destinations; and a spirit of insubordination to the constitutional authorities prevailed, which Quiroga, with all the forces under his command, was quite unable to suppress. In the province of Bilboa, equal resistance was experienced by the civil and military power. The conscription, as well as the requisition for horses, was evaded, in order to which, the peasantry abandoned their houses and fields; agriculture was totally neglected, industry paralyzed, and commerce inactive. Even in the province of Asturias, which had scarcely been heard of amidst the general agitations of the country, the most decided opposition was manifested against the constitutional system; and at Oviedo, the capital of the province, the inhabitants rose against the authorities, while there was no military force to act against them. The removal of the government from Madrid also

tended to cast a gloom over the country, especially in the northern provinces; and the public spirit in the capital, which had so generally prevailed in favour of the Constitution, immediately began to decline.

It is a proud and consistent boast for England, that while there remained the smallest hope for Spanish freedom, our government countenanced, by all the official forms of friendly intercourse, the patriotic struggle, as far as this could be shewn without involving Europe in a general warfare. Instructions, it appears, had been transmitted to our minister at Madrid, to attend the Spanish government, in case it should be removed; and accordingly, Sir W. A'Court left Madrid shortly after the king's departure, and arrived at Seville on the 5th of April, a few days before the arrival of his majesty. Of the progress of his excellency's journey, and the flattering reception he met with from all ranks among the people, there is no account so circumstantial and satisfactory, as that published in the journal to which I have before made allusion; and for this reason I shall give it entire, as well as the public entry of the king into Seville.

"His excellency's journey was a kind of triumph all the way. In several of the towns, where he stopped for the night, the authorities presented themselves to pay their respects. In one place, a large crowd assembled before the windows of the house where he was lodged, and sent in a deputation to present their respects, and request that he would shew himself in the balcony. He complied with their desire, and they hailed him with repeated shouts of "*Viva el ministro Inglis!*" "*Viva la Constitucion!*" In another place he was addressed by the title of "your majesty!" and almost every where he stopped he was serenaded with music. He had an order for private lodgings at every stage of his route, and nothing could exceed the attention with which the proprietors of the different houses designated for his residence, received him and Lady A'Court. They brought with them their own provisions, and were anxious to give as little trouble as possible. But their hosts, generally persons of rank, were prodigal of their civilities, and expressed themselves particularly favoured by having the English minister under their roof. They were attended by an escort of cuirassiers all the way, who conducted themselves with marked

respect and attention. At one of the towns through which they passed, the intendant said, he had orders to escort the English minister to the borders of the province with the whole troop of local cavalry. This was unnecessary, and of course declined. But the intendant said, his orders were positive,—that the cavalry were anxious to discharge the honourable service appointed for them, and, if the attendance of the whole corps were not deemed necessary, he would take it as a particular favour, if six were allowed to proceed with the minister to the precincts of the province. This compromise was accepted, for it was in vain to refuse such hospitable entreaties. In more than one of the houses where they rested, a splendid dinner was provided for the whole party; an extraordinary instance of civility, for it is generally one of the last things they offer in Spain. But this was exceeded by another of Sir William's hosts, who offered him money, to any amount, which he might think to take. This was the most superfluous compliment of all to a minister of England, though probably the intention was sincere, as it was undoubtedly respectful. The house in which Sir William A'Court resides in Seville, belongs to the family of Saavedra, and was handsomely offered, free of expense, for his use. Of course this civility was not accepted.

"I do not know, however, how far the Spaniards would have been likely to pursue the same course of attention and hospitality to the minister of England, if they had known of Mr. Canning's declaration of neutrality, with respect to the approaching contest between France and the Peninsula. Indeed, of all engagements in the cause of liberty, that of England in favour of Spain would be the most quixotic. The Constitution, no matter what may be its excellence or imperfection, has certainly not succeeded in gathering around it the sentiments and good wishes of a majority of the people of that country. I have already given some idea of the state of public feeling in Seville. The same state of apathy, to use the mildest expression, prevailed in all the towns through which we passed, after leaving Madrid. From my own observations, and those of others, I can safely state, that the great majority of the people, on the line of that route, desired nothing so much as peace. They have been vexed and injured by repeated

contributions and conscriptions, and latterly, by anticipations of the current year's taxes, their means of complying with them being extremely limited. The agitations prevailing the last two years in Spain have, in a great measure, suspended the usual internal trade of the provinces, and the people were called upon to make fresh sacrifices—one day to the factious, the next day to the constitutionalists, at a time when they were impoverished beyond all precedent. These are facts, and not speculations. However ardent may be an Englishman's wish, that Spain may enjoy liberal institutions, (and if he were without a wish of this nature, he would be undeserving of his country,) still, when he saw that the idea of civil liberty was carried in that nation to an extreme which promised no durability, and that this extreme, supported only by bayonets and by official *employes*, was the inviolable system which England was called upon to assist with her mighty arm, he cannot but rejoice, that that assistance was refused, and that the strength of his country was reserved for more worthy purposes.

“In saying thus much, however, I would not be understood as discouraging, in any degree, those exertions which Englishmen have made, or may hereafter make, as individuals, for assisting the Spaniards to sustain the independence of their country against the unprincipled aggression of France. God forbid that Englishmen should ever take any other part than that of countenancing the cause of freedom, assisting it with their money, and cheering it through the desperate struggle! But the government, I trust, will stand aloof, and let the dictator and allies of Russia waste their strength on the air. England will continue to husband her resources, while the despots of the continent are squandering their's in contests which will every day thicken upon them.

“Public notice was given, that the king would arrive in Seville on the 10th. An announcement to this effect was posted in all the public places, and orders were issued to the inhabitants in the streets through which the royal cavalcade was to pass, to decorate the fronts of their houses. Illuminations were also enjoined for three ensuing nights. Another edict was issued, rather of a peculiar nature, directing that all taverns should be shut after three o'clock on the day of his

majesty's entry; the reason assigned for this measure being, that such disorders as had occurred on former occasions of public rejoicings were caused by the operation of a little too much wine. In the northern provinces I have had occasion to observe, that the Spaniards drink little, but in Andalusia they are fond of wine, and not unfrequently commit excesses; nor is it much to be wondered at, considering that their climate is rather humid, and their wines most delicious. The red wine in common use in Seville, is as fine as old port, to the strength of which it adds the flavour of Burgundy.

"The morning of the 10th looked unfavourable for the display of any pageant, as a slight rain was falling, and the skies were charged with threatening clouds. At noon it continued to rain. Several of the balconies in the streets leading to the palace from the gate of Triana, through which the king was to enter, were hung with counterpanes, most of them of purple silk. The streets near the gate of Triana was lined on one side with soldiers. The Plaza, or square, of the Constitution, looked very handsome. The house of the chief magistrate was hung with purple tapestry, and the pillars of its large balcony were entwined with wreaths of artificial roses. The interior of the balcony, which perhaps ought rather to be called an open gallery, was decorated with eight or ten glass lustres; and in front of two of the pillars was placed the representation of a coat of mail and helmet, surmounted in the usual manner by the national ensigns. A considerable crowd of people was collected in the Plaza, and the balconies of the house were all filled with spectators, chiefly females, well dressed, and their hair ornamented with natural flowers. As there are balconies to each of the stories, the lower ones were sheltered from the rain, which now began to fall heavily. A large body of troops was assembled in the Plaza, with a band.

"From the Plaza to the gate of Triana, there is a long line of narrow streets. The balconies here were also crowded, and as soon as the first guns were fired, at five minutes before one, announcing that the royal cavalcade was within a quarter of a league of the capital, every balcony, without exception, was hung with counterpanes; some of very old patterns of flowered silk, some yellow chintz, some of damask, but the generality of purple silk. The soldiers were all at their posts. Some of

the churches were fronted with old tapestry, and the monks belonging to the convents on the line of route, were all drawn out at the side of the street opposite to them.

"A second royal salute, of fifteen guns, announced the entry of the king within the gate of Triana, at a quarter past one. The royal carriages were preceded and followed by a strong escort of cavalry; and as soon as they entered the streets, a few of them began to shout '*Viva Riego.*' This cry was not answered, and it was not repeated by the cavalry. An officer of infantry ran immediately before the king's carriage, crying out "*viva*" as he passed. Even this was but faintly echoed from the balconies. I followed the royal cavalcade, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, from the gate of Triana to the Plaza de la Constitucion; and until it arrived at the latter place, I never saw any thing more like a funeral procession. No waving of handkerchiefs from the fair sex, no *vivas* or shouts of any sort from the men, though the balconies were crowded.

"When the cavalcade arrived in the Plaza de la Constitucion, there was something like a general shout of *vivas*, without any other addition, except from the soldiers collected in the square, a few of whom added '*La Constitucion*,' and some, '*El Rey Constitucional.*' The band played the hymn of Riego, but the shout was neither sustained nor enthusiastic; and certainly the people in the balconies took no conspicuous share in it. In fact, they did not seem to know that the king and queen were in the first carriage, and they were still looking on to the end of the cavalcade, where the more gaudy carriages of the officers of the household followed. I never witnessed in so large a concourse of people such complete apathy; they seemed to be present merely because there was something to see; but the spectacle appeared to have disappointed them, probably because the carriages, horses, and men, all dripping wet, presented no emblems of festive gaiety. The side windows of all the carriages were open. The king was dressed in blue uniform, with a star on his left breast, and sat forward in the carriage. He bowed slightly as he passed, and did not appear much fatigued after his journey. The queen sat back, and was scarcely visible. The *infantas*, and their servants, were received without much notice.

"The cavalcade passed on through several other streets, and a third royal salute announced its arrival at the palace, at a few minutes before two. The bells of all the steeples were rung during the procession; the twenty bells of the cathedral thundered forth all their deafening sounds. Doubtless, if the day had been fine, the entry of the king might have presented a much more festive spectacle. But what with the torrents of rain, the splashing of cavalry, the mud of the streets, the clouds of umbrellas, and the apathy of the people, I do not remember to have ever witnessed a public exhibition so uninteresting, and, I may add, so melancholy.

"At night there were illuminations, the signal for commencing which was given by the illumination of the spire of the cathedral tower; this assemblage of blazing torches in the sky had a very striking effect. The faces of the men employed in kindling the torches looked ghastly in their light. A vast number of birds, who had been disturbed from their airy nests, were hovering in alarm around the Giralda, and in the reflection of the torches they appeared all white."

Such is the narrative given by a gentleman, an Englishman of credit, who was an eye-witness of the facts related. In concluding this chapter, and before I enter upon the military operations which immediately followed, I shall transcribe from the same authority, a view of the civil and political state of that part of the country where the government may be supposed to have had the strongest influence. Speaking of the city of Seville, in the month of April, when the seat of government was about to be established there, our author makes the subjoined observations:—

"I made some inquiries into the feelings of the Sevillians, with regard to the Constitution; and the answers which I received from persons resident here for some years, were shortly to this effect:—That when the Constitution was first proclaimed, a number of rich proprietors, and of steady commercial men, embarked ardently in the cause, under the hope that liberal institutions would tend greatly to the amelioration of their different interests. Within the last year, however, the frequent changes of ministry produced corresponding alterations in all the offices within the reach of their power; and the displacements and successions directed by the actual

ministry, soon after they came into office, were particularly peremptory and extensive. The new *employes*, it was said, consisted mostly of that half-educated gentry, who, after leaving school, had spent the greatest part of their lives in the coffee-houses, and billiard and gambling rooms; and when they found themselves invested with authority, they exercised it in a rude, and sometimes oppressive manner, assuming to themselves the character of exclusive and ultra-zealous constitutionalists. The early and rational friends of the Constitution frequently experienced causes of disgust in the conduct of these new men; and they found, according to their views and feelings, fifty petty tyrants, where only the influence of one had been formerly felt. They in consequence retired from the scene of public affairs altogether, and yielded it to the *exaltadaes*—for so the new men were here, as elsewhere, styled. The result of these proceedings, upon the general spirit of Seville, was to render it exceedingly indifferent towards the Constitution.

“One might suspect, that this view of the matter had come from interested, and therefore questionable sources; but though I made many inquiries, I could hear no representation differing essentially from what is above stated. The frequent and ineffectual applications which the authorities were making every day for money, legally due from the inhabitants, in order to enable them to prepare for the reception of the government, tended rather to corroborate this statement. Besides these, an ‘*allocution*,’ as it is called, addressed to the inhabitants of Seville, was published by the political chief, in which he began by saying, that although he had witnessed reiterated proofs of the constitutional spirit of the inhabitants of this province, nevertheless, he issued to them fresh injunctions to receive the king, on his arrival, as a ‘constitutional sovereign,’ that they might do away those suspicions which the enemies of liberty entertained of their fidelity to the established system. He then went on to state, that the removal of the government had stricken terror into the hearts of the foreigner; and in a comparison which he drew between the state of France and Spain, he assured them, that anarchy was reigning in the former country, which was on the eve of another revolution, in order to break her chains. ‘While the French,’ he con-

tinued, 'are in hourly fear of an explosion, which may lead them back to the times of Robespierre or Buonaparte, Spain, always grand and generous, calmly observes the results of those causes, and supports, and contemplates with pleasure, the resolution of her constitutional king to remove his government to a secure place, whence he can dictate the measures most expedient in our present political situation. Union and harmony, this is my only injunction; circumspection and reflection, in the midst of the most animated actions, are necessary, that the scenes may not be changed; let there be nothing but rejoicings and gladness amongst all, but with *uniformity*, and without going beyond the limits which reason and policy require. '*Viva la Nacion!—Viva la Constitucion!—Viva el Rey Constitucional!—Viva el Congreso soberano!*' These are the *vivas* which it becomes patriots to shout in the ears of his majesty on his arrival; any other shout, of whatever sort it may be, cannot fulfil the object of such demonstrations of joy; nor can they have any other effect than that of subverting the good order of things. I hope that the inhabitants of this capital and province will follow those principles, it being understood that if it should not so happen, with pain I say it, the weight of my authority shall fall on him who commits any infractions in this respect; but I hope that this case will not arise, and, above all, that nothing will remain to be desired by your fellow-citizen, and superior political chief,—SEBASTIAN JARCHIA DE OCHOA.'

"A stranger, knowing no more of the inhabitants of Seville than he might infer from this allocution, would be apt to suspect, that they were animated by sentiments in some respects differing from those of the political chief. It was the first proclamation I had seen, ordering a people to be merry by rule and with *uniformity*, and not to say or shout either too much or too little, lest 'the scenes should be changed.' The *vivas* which they were to utter were already prepared for their lips. '*Dulce est despicere in loco*,' says Horace. 'No,' says the superior political chief, 'in the midst of your joy you must have *circumspection* and *reflection*, otherwise, it is with grief I say it, I must let all the weight of my authority fall upon you.'"

Of the state and condition of Cádiz, at this period, our author gives the following statement:—"If the political feel-

ing of Cadiz were to be judged of from external appearances, it must be considered as eminently constitutional. Over the door of almost every house, an article of the Constitution, such as the proprietor selects, as appertaining to his trade or profession, or expressive of a favourite principle, is affixed, written in large letters of gold on a wooden tablet. I observed, without meaning any disrespect to the Constitution, that the tailors and barbers particularly signalized their ardour for the system by large tablets and letters, and more than one article of the code. Cadiz is surrounded by strong ramparts, which, together with its harbour, which is dangerous to large vessels, render it almost as impregnable by sea as it is by land. There were not many guns mounted; but I reckoned about a hundred pieces of cannon, of all weights, lying on the ground, which might be rendered available to the exigencies of defence. I observed, also, several guns which had been left behind by the French, the mouths of which were injured by being fired at. This was an effectual expedient which the French adopted in the latter part of the war, in order to prevent our artillery from turning against them their own batteries. It had been previously the custom to spike abandoned guns; but the British engineers bored out the spikes without injuring the touch-hole, and thus, in many cases, rendered the spiked guns useful.

“Since the separation of the South American colonies from the mother country, the commerce of Cadiz has declined very materially; indeed, speaking in comparison with its former activity, it may be said to have perished. I saw no more than fifty vessels in her bay, which, in the days of her commercial greatness, was seldom beheld without a thousand or fifteen hundred. The population is lessening every day; for as trade is almost extinct, families give up their establishments, and betake themselves to Port St. Mary’s, Puerta Real, and other small towns on the coast, where they may live at a greatly reduced expense. In consequence of this emigration, Port St. Mary’s and San Lucar are improving. Their trade, as well as that which remains to Cadiz, is chiefly in the exportation of sherry, which is produced a short distance in the interior from this coast.”

CHAPTER XV.

Note of Warlike Preparations—Numbers and Commanders of the respective Armies—Proclamation of the Duke of Angouleme—Spanish Junta of Government formed at Bayonne—Its Proclamation—Attempt to seduce the French Army abortive—Passage of the Bidassoa—Unpreparedness of the Spaniards for Invasion—Affair before St. Sebastian—French Details of the Progress of their Army—Noble Conduct of the Governor of Figueras—Approach to Madrid—Treachery of the Count de Abisbal—His Proclamation—Negociations for surrendering the Capital—Attempt of Bessieres to enter Madrid frustrated—Excesses of the Populace on the French Entrance—Regency installed—Address of the Grandes—Révolution in Portugal—Operation of the Spanish Armies.

ALL hopes of terminating the differences between France and Spain having vanished, the former now seriously proceeded to put in execution those threats which she had long held as the alternative of a rejection of her demands. From the first commencement of the negociations, the French had been reinforcing the invading army at Bayonne; and, by the end of March, that army was deemed sufficiently formidable to undertake offensive operations. It was said to be composed of about 80,000 men, independent of which, the army of the Faith, under the command of the Baron d'Eroles, Quesada, and the Trappist, amounted to upwards of 12,000. The Duke d'Angouleme was appointed generalissimo of the forces. These were divided into three separate armies, to which were assigned three distinct routes. To Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, was confided the centre, which was to proceed in a direct line towards Madrid; the left was assigned to general Molitor; while old marshal Moncey, who commenced his military career under general Dumourier, in Champagne, commanded the south-east army. The principal forces of the Spaniards occupied the frontier province of Catalonia, under general Mina, which amounted to about 20,000 men; and another body, of equal number, under Ballasteros, was stationed in Arragon, near to the frontier, on the road leading to Madrid. Besides these, the constitutional armies were chiefly

shut up in fortified places, and unable to act beyond the lines of their fortresses; except the forces under Abisbal in Castile, and those under Morillo in Galicia.

In numbers, therefore, as well as in superior appointments, the invading force had an overwhelming advantage; and an easy march to Madrid was anticipated. There seemed, however, a very general expectation to prevail in the constitutional armies, that the French troops could not be brought seriously to act hostilely towards them; and this indeed was a speculation entertained in other parts of Europe besides Spain. This idea was favoured, not only by symptoms of popular feeling which had been manifested in some parts of France, but from a strong presumption that intrigues were formed in the French army,* favourable to the constitutional cause in Spain. A

* In the course of this work, it has been observed, that one principal grievance of which the French government complained, was, the attempts made by the constitutionalists to seduce the army and the nation from their allegiance. Up to the time of the breaking out of the war, no tangible circumstances had been adduced by the court of the Thuilleries, to substantiate these charges; but just at this period, some documents were published in the *Moniteur*, the official government journal, which, if they really existed in the form ascribed to them by that paper, justified the strongest suspicion. These documents, one addressed to the French army, and another to the nation, were said to be published and circulated by Spanish liberals and domestic traitors; and the same number of the *Moniteur* in which they were inserted, affirmed, that one individual was in prison, at Perpignan, who had been taken in the act of disseminating them. They are as follow:--

*“Head-quarters of the Army of Freemen, in the
Mountains of the Pyrenees.*

“ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH ARMY.

“FRENCHMEN!—The epoch is to us at hand, in which the destinies regulating the fate of great nations, call on you to teach, in your turn, the entire world what are the effects of patriotism and of national independence on the minds of great men. You once combated incessantly with continued success the hydra of despotism, although armed against you in every spot of Europe: in vain did the hordes of the north, sallying then forth—in vain did the machiavelian manœuvres of haughty England—endeavour to depress your constancy, to overcome your courage; multiplied prodigies of valour astounded those base wretches, who, in their pride, had flattered themselves, that if they but appeared they could again impose the yoke on you, that they could compel you again to bow under the yoke of feudal power: to their cries—their sacri-

sudden journey taken by the Duke of Belluno, the French minister at war, from Paris to Bayonne, gave some consistency to the report; but it was presently apparent, that if such machinations existed at all, they were too inconsiderable to occasion serious alarm.

legious cries of submission and duty—your reply was the sacred shout, ‘Freedom and our country.’ Your device was, ‘Free we live, or we die free.’ You followed it on the road to glory; success attended you—and your enemies grew pale on beholding fanaticism and feodality break their torches and their chains, from despair and rage at the approach of their dissolution.

“It must be, as well to the present as to future generations, an astonishing spectacle to behold you, this day, the blind instruments for the attack of tyranny against a nation not less great than generous—a nation which has long admired your virtues—which has dared to follow the trace of your footsteps!—Frenchmen! We run to meet you not as enemies, but as brothers. Behold us before you—behold our arms. Is there among you one who honours the name he bears, the name of

French or freeman,’ who will not shudder, before he throws his weapon forward, when he reflects that its point must reach the heart of a man who lives too for liberty.

“These Foreign Powers, who have sought to efface your glory, which they however have been able only to tarnish, now dare to command you to proceed to shame and dishonour. Conquerors of Fleurus, of Jena, of Austerlitz, and Wagram, will you become the tools of their insinuating perfidy? Will you seal with your blood the infamy with which they seek to cover you—the slavery in which they seek to bury Europe? Will you obey the command of those tyrants, to fight against your rights, instead of defending them? Will you come to our ranks, to carry hither destruction and death? Will you not rather come forward to the shrine of liberty, whose standard, whose tri-coloured flag, now waves on the mountains of the Pyrenees, eager once again to shade your noble brows, which bear the marks of the wounds you received with glory under it before?

“SOLDIERS OF FRANCE!—You brave soldiers of the army, who yet preserve in your bosoms the sparks of the sacred fire, we appeal to you, we call on you to come forward, and with us to embrace the ennobling cause of the people against a handful of oppressors; your country, your honour, your own peculiar interest, dictate that course to you. Come then forward—you will find in our ranks every thing which strength can give; with us you will find fellow countrymen and companions in arms, who swear to defend, to the last drop of their blood, their rights, the freedom of their native country, and the independence of the nation.—Freedom for ever! Success to Napoleon II! Success to the brave!”

On the 30th of March, the Duke d'Angouleme put himself at the head of the French army at Bayonne, and on the 2d of

"Head-quarters of the Army of Freemen, on the Pyrenean Mountains.

"MANIFESTO TO THE FRENCH NATION.

"FRENCHMEN!—The Foreign Powers proclaimed, in 1815, to all Europe, that they had armed solely against Napoleon, that they wished to respect our national independence, and the right which every nation had to choose a government suited to its manners and to its interests.

"Yet, in despite of that positive declaration, a foreign army invaded our territory, seized our capital, and imposed on us the law of adopting, without choice, the government of Louis St. Stanislaus Xavier de France. As a sequel to that attack on the sovereignty of the nation, a shadow of a Constitution was illegally given to us, under the name of the Constitutional Charter; and the same power which compelled us to accept it, has, in the sequel, openly neutralized its effects.

"The hatred declared against Napoleon was but a pretext, of which the Sovereigns of Europe made use, to conceal their own ambitious views; the energy of the 'Great Nation' was too great an obstacle to the re-establishment of the general system of despotism, which re-establishment had been discussed in the cabinets of the kings; therefore, to paralyze that energy, became imperative on them; and the only means wherewith to succeed in paralyzing it, were, first to seduce it, next to deceive it, and then to subjugate it; on that basis, already established, reposed that grand Council of Sovereigns, under the name of the *Holy Alliance*, a name which can be explained in no other terms than '*a coalition of tyrants against the people.*' The invasion of Poland, that of Italy, and the calamities endured by Spain since the return of Ferdinand VII. now in its turn threatened with an invasion, are the results of this principle.

"Wherefore, having taken into consideration the last acts of the Chamber of Representatives of the French people, in the month of July, 1815;

"Having taken into consideration the rights of the French nation in, and at that month, as well as the Constitutions of the State, which call to the throne of France Napoleon II.;

"Having taken into consideration the declaration of the same Representatives of the 5th of July, respecting the rights of Frenchmen, and the fundamental principles of the Constitution, by which all power emanates from the people, provided that the sovereignty of the people is composed of the union and junction of the rights of all classes of citizens;

"Having also taken into consideration the declaration of the Chamber of Representatives on the same day, which states, that the French

April, his royal highness issued the following proclamation, addressed to the Spanish nation—a state paper certainly

government, whoever might be its chief, ought to unite with it the desires of all the nation, lawfully expressed; that a monarch cannot offer any real guarantees, unless he swears to observe a Constitution, deliberated on by the representatives of the nation, and accepted by the people; that every government which may have no other title than the applause and wishes of a party, or which may have been imposed by force; that every government which would not accept the national colours, could have nothing more than an ephemeral existence, and would not secure either the tranquillity of France or of Europe :

“That if the basis expressed in this declaration could be by possibility misconstrued or violated, the representatives of the French people, in the acquittal of a sacred duty, protested beforehand in the view of all the world against violence and usurpation; and they confide the maintenance of the regulations which they proclaim to all good Frenchmen—to every generous heart—to each enlightened mind—to all men jealous of their freedom—and finally, to posterity.

“We the undersigned, French and free men, assembled on the summit of the Pyrenees and on the South of France, and comprising the council of Napoleon II. protest against the legitimacy of Louis XVIII. and all the acts of his government, as tending to the subversion of the liberty and independence of the French nation.

“We therefore declare and pronounce to be anti-national, every attempt emanating from Louis XVIII. or from his government, against the independence of the Spanish nation.

“FRENCHMEN!—A noble-minded man has dared to repeat, even so as to reach the throne, those memorable words—‘The people will recover from great falls.’ These expressions have re-echoed through France, and the hour is now come when the prophecy is to be fulfilled.

“FRENCHMEN!—Will you obey the orders of those tyrants who wish to seal with your blood the opprobrium and the infamy with which they labour to cover you, in order to punish you for having, in the 18th century, borne the seeds of freedom to every part of Europe? No, you will attend to a voice more attractive for the magnanimity of your hearts, which commands you to unite under the sacred banners of honour, on which are inscribed, ‘Freedom, Glory, and our Country.’

“FRENCHMEN!—The intentions of the Holy Alliance cannot be unknown to you; recollect that, in 1792, you taught and astonished Europe what a nation could do who loved and valued freedom. We offer to you again the tri-coloured standard, the signal of your awakening from slumber, at this moment, when, from the summits of the Pyrenees, men of bravery and courage hurl from those heights their declaration of liberty, which will cause absolute kings to tremble on their thrones, already tottering before the justice of public opinion; come and

moderate in its sentiments, and its avowals less offensive than might have been expected, from the high tone which had been assumed by the French government.—

“The King of France, by recalling his ambassador from Madrid, hoped that the Spanish government, warned of its dangers, would return to more moderate sentiments, and would cease to be deaf to the counsels of benevolence and reason. Two months and a half have passed away, and his Majesty has in vain expected the establishment in Spain of an order of things compatible with the safety of neighbouring states.—The French government has for two entire years endured, with a forbearance without example, the most unmerited provocations: the revolutionary faction which has destroyed the royal authority in your country—which holds your king captive—which calls for his dethronement—which menaces his life and that of his family, has carried beyond your frontiers its guilty efforts. It has tried all means to corrupt the army of his most Christian Majesty, and to excite troubles in France, in the same manner as it had succeeded, by the contagion of its doctrines and of its example, to produce the insurrection of Naples and Piedmont. Deceived in its expectations, it has invited traitors, condemned by our tribunals, to consummate, under the protection of triumphant rebellion, the plots which they had formed against their country. It is time to put a stop to the anarchy which tears Spain in pieces, which takes from it the power of settling its colonial disputes, which separates it from Europe, which has broken all its relations with the august sovereigns whom the same intentions and the same views unite with his most Christian Majesty, and which compromises the repose and interests of France.—Spaniards! France is not at war with your country. Sprung from the same blood as your kings, I can have no wish but for your independence, your happiness, your glory. I am going to cross the Pyrenees at the head of 100,000 Frenchmen; but it is in order to unite myself to the Spaniards, friends of order and of the laws, to assist them in setting free their captive king, in raising again the altar and the throne, in rescuing priests from exile, men of property from spoliation, and the whole people from the domination of an ambitious few, who, while they proclaim liberty, are preparing only the slavery and ruin of Spain.—Spaniards! Every thing will be done for you and with you. The French are not, and wish not to be, any thing but your auxiliaries. Your standard alone shall float over your cities: the provinces traversed

unite with us in honouring the new regulations of society; from the head-quarters of the army of Freemen, we make this unanimous appeal to you; come, and you will meet friends and brothers, who swear to acknowledge and to proclaim as the most powerful king in Europe, the most constitutional of sovereigns. Such is the strength, such is the will, of this enlightened age. (Signed)

“The Members of the Council of Regency of Napoleon II.”

by our soldiers shall be administered in the name of Ferdinand by Spanish authorities; the severest discipline shall be observed; every thing necessary for the service of the army shall be paid for with scrupulous punctuality; we do not pretend either to impose laws on you, or to occupy your country; we wish nothing but your deliverance; as soon as we shall have obtained it, we will return to our country, happy to have preserved a generous people from the miseries produced by revolution, and which experience has taught us but too well to appreciate."

"Head-quarters at Bayonne, April 2, 1823. "LOUIS ANTOINE."

On the following day, the 3d, in an order of the day, addressed by the prince to his soldiers, he says, "It is not the spirit of conquest which induces us to take up arms; a more generous motive animates us. We are going to place a king on his throne, to reconcile his people to him, and to re-establish, in a country a prey to anarchy, that order which is necessary to the happiness and the safety of both states."

It is necessary to state, that before the invading army broke up from Bayonne, three Spanish nobles had been nominated and erected into a kind of supreme government, if not by the French commander, at least with his concurrence, who were to act in the name of Ferdinand. On the 6th of April, the very moment when the hostile army was leaving Bayonne, this junta addressed the subjoined proclamation to their countrymen; which, besides its strong savour of the recognition of absolute power in the sovereign, proceeds provisionally to disannul all the political and administrative acts of the government since the commencement of the revolution in 1820. It is more than probable, that this sweeping declaration was particularly directed against the public loans contracted by the constitutionalists, with a view not only to get rid of the payment by the government which this junta was labouring to restore, but so to sap their credit, as to prevent them in future from having successful recurrence to similar expedients.

PROCLAMATION OF THE SPANISH REGENCY.

"GENEROUS SPANIARDS!—After three years of public calamity, brought on your country by the rebellion of some guilty sons, the day of peace at length rises for you, and with it the happy influence of order and justice. Europe, affected by your misfortunes, and fatigued by the cries of sedition, calls with all its prayers for the termination of your calamities; and a generous descendant of St. Louis is crossing your

frontiers at the head of a faithful and glorious army, to assist your efforts, and accomplish your wishes.—Spaniards! they are no longer those hostile standards which formerly threatened your liberty; it is the banner of peace, borne by valiant warriors. This banner is destined to heal the wounds which anarchy has made, to cover with its protecting shield those brave men who are about to restore the throne and the altar, and to deliver our unhappy king and his august family from the captivity in which they are held by a handful of rebellious subjects.—This eminent service, which our allies are rendering us, acquires a new lustre from the disinterestedness and generosity which govern it: your government attests, on its honour and truth, that no sentiment of ambition or interest mixes with this noble resolution: the common danger arising from the mischiefs with which the revolution threatens Europe, has given to political virtue its ancient lustre and chivalrous character; it is consoling to humanity to see the resolutions of cabinets, and the councils of kings, offer sublime and repeated examples of that policy, which has not for its object increase of territory, or interested treaties, but the consolidation of the principles of justice, and of the foundations of society, threatened with universal dissolution.—Spaniards! Europe renders justice to your loyalty. It knows that it is one of the virtues which most ennoble your character: it is far from confounding your generous sentiments with those attributed to you by the friends of revolution, in order to cover, with the name of the general opinion of the nation, the excesses and crimes of a faction.—The moment is come, when, free from the oppression which weighed upon you, you are able to shew to Europe, how just and merited was the opinion which she had formed of your sentiments; let us not leave to our armies, and to those of our allies, the glory of our deliverance—the whole nation is interested in sharing in the great success—but never let the energetic expression of its will be sullied by any one of those excesses at which honour and generosity revolt.—Spaniards! Your provisional government declares, that it does not recognize, and that it considers as never having existed, the political and administrative acts of the government erected by rebellion, and that it establishes, therefore, provisionally, that administration of the state which existed before the violence of anarchy in 1820.—The edifice of anarchy thus destroyed, and the king, our master, restored to liberty, then the institutions may be established, which circumstances advise and require, and which his Majesty may deign to grant.—The provisional junta of the government of the Spanish nation recognizes only in the king the origin and seat of the sovereign authority, and, as a necessary consequence, does not admit, in the political system, any modification which is not made directly by the king, by the advice of those wise men whom he may be pleased to consult.—Spaniards! the experiment which you have made ought to awaken all your vigilance, and to put you on your guard against the insidious and deceitful suggestions of revolution.—Our king, always disposed to secure the happiness of his people, will find, no doubt, in our ancient laws, in our usages

and customs, wise provisions, which, combined with our character, and in harmony with our manners and our wants, will fix, in a stable and advantageous manner, our future destiny.—Spaniards! It is for you the glory is reserved of exterminating the revolutionary hydra, which, repulsed from all the states of Europe, has come in, seeking an asylum, to strike our native land with sterility and calamity. Let the most perfect harmony be the device of our noble cause: let there be only one will, where there is only one wish and one interest—the safety of religion, of our king, and of our country.—By the provisional junta,

(Signed)

“EGUIA,—ERRO,—CALDERON.

“*Bayonne, April 6.*”

On the 6th of April, as before noticed, the French army was in motion; and as its advance approached the Bidassoa, the river which divides the two countries, the constitutionalists put in execution a manœuvre, on which they calculated with much confidence, that of inspiring the enemy's troops with enthusiasm in the revolutionary cause. About noon, and while the French occupied the opposite bank, a band of French, Italians, and Piedmontese, chiefly refugees from their respective countries, mingled with a number of Spanish soldiers, presented themselves in their front. This corps bore the imperial eagle, were decorated with the tri-coloured cockade, and habited in the exact dress of the ex-imperial guard. At the same time, the whole of a Spanish regiment, called the Union, and formerly the Imperial Alexander, about five or six hundred strong, crowned the heights which cover Irun, beyond the mountain of St. Mastial. From the moment of the arrival of the motley group, they continued to sing patriotic songs, and alternately invoked Napoleon II.! the Republic! the Constitution! and Liberty! They repeatedly hailed, as comrades and old brethren in arms, the officers and soldiers of the 9th French infantry, who were within both sight and hearing. These incitements to revolt were continued for some time; but they appeared to make no impression whatever on the French troops, among whom there appeared the strictest discipline, and the most perfect fidelity. At length, general Vallin ordered the advance of a piece of artillery; and now it was, that the first shot was fired in the war between the two nations. These discharges were directed against this motley band, of whom about a dozen were killed and wounded, and the remainder immediately ran away.

This transaction was published in the Paris papers with great *eclat*, and diffused an exultation amongst the ultra-royalists, equal to the achievement of a most important victory. It was, indeed, a subject at which they had cause of rejoicing, as it evinced the fidelity of the French soldiers, and afforded proof, that there was no danger of their being seduced from their allegiance by a revival of the revolutionary mania. For the same reason, the Spanish soldiery were equally despirited by this failure, which convinced them they had nothing to hope but from their own courage and perseverance. Some French soldiers passed to the other side of the river, and brought back a French deserter, wounded, who declared, 'that the chiefs assured him, that the French troops would not fire on them, but that the first soldiers they encountered, would eagerly range themselves under their colours.' There were found upon him, as well as upon those who were dead, proclamations and tri-coloured cockades, which they designed to distribute as soon as they were joined by the French soldiers. Four or five of the group, recognized as French deserters, were seized, tried, and immediately shot.

Early on the morning of the 7th, the first corps of the French army crossed the Bidassoa, the cavalry wading the river, and the infantry passing over in boats. On the next day, the head-quarters were at Irun, from whence the Spanish troops had retired into the interior. In marking the progress of the invading army, the reader will be disappointed if he expects to find accounts of hardly-contested and bloody conflicts; a grand display of military tactics on the one hand, or stern resistance on the other. The whole advance, from the Bidassoa to the capital of Spain, presented rather the spectacle of a triumphant army, marching to take an undisputed possession of a town or province, than the difficult approach of an enemy, contending for the possession of a hostile kingdom. While the French moved on, without encountering, or even meeting with an enemy in the field, the friends of Spanish independence were calculating on seeing developed some deep-laid scheme, which had been laid for decoying the enemy into the interior, with a view of suddenly and unexpectedly falling upon him, and surrounding him on every side. This hope was cherished long after any rational ground remained for its

existence; and it was not abandoned until the work of entire conquest was nearly completed. On such a barren field for historical record, as the military affairs of the earlier stages of the campaign present, much detail would not only be uninteresting, but tedious; it will be necessary to do little more than notice the route taken by the French troops, the towns through which they passed, and the periods when they secured their most important conquests.

At Irun, the first fortified post on the frontier, the prince generalissimo was received with acclamations, and, according to the French accounts, hailed as the deliverer of the country. At St. Sebastian, however, the army met with a different reception: a flag of truce was received with musket-shot; after which the French succeeded, after some severe fighting, in making themselves masters of the heights which command that fortress. From this new position, general Bourke sent a second flag of truce, which was this time admitted; but the governor having refused to deliver up the place, and expressing his determination to defend it to the last extremity, the messenger returned to the French camp. A most gallant sally was soon after made from the fortress, supported by fifteen pieces of cannon, in which a considerable number of the French fell, though the latter admitted only the loss of twenty men. The assailants were of course compelled to retire within their works. It appears, that the invaders were but ill supplied with heavy cannon; and on the refusal of the governor to surrender, the enemy were reduced to the necessity of moving forward, leaving only a sufficient number of troops to watch the motions of the garrison.

On the 11th, the French head-quarters were at Tolosa, where they remained for several days; and on the 17th, they were transferred to Vittoria. Here the commander of the French forces remained till the 5th of May, in order to give time for the detached corps, which had verged to the right and left, on different points, to join. The subjoined official report, dated Vittoria, April 30, will best detail the military operations up to this date:—

“General Count Molitor, at the head of the whole of the second corps, entered Saragossa on the 26th of April. The evening before, the magistrates of that city had gone to meet

him as far as Mallen, and on their request, a battalion of the advanced guard, commanded by colonel Bellanger, was sent forward. The most perfect order reigned in the midst of the numerous population, whose lively enthusiasm required rather to be checked than excited. In the midst of this general joy, and with brilliant pomp, the entrance of the French troops into the capital of Arragon, took place. There were found in the castle of Saragossa forty-eight cannon, a great quantity of projectiles, and other munitions of war. The revolutionists, in retiring, had only time to destroy the powder. More than eight thousand Arragonese in arms, will already have been joined in the second corps. Ballasteros retires precipitately on Valencia, ordering along with him the whole of his detachments. The blockade of Mequinenza has been raised, in consequence of the movements of the second corps, combined with that of the marshal Duke de Cornegliano, who, after having taken possession of Rosas, has formed the blockade of Figueras, occupied the city, and is going to pursue his operations in Catalonia. The important citadel of Jaca was placed in the power of his Catholic Majesty on the 24th inst. by the regiment which was destined to form its garrison, and which took possession of the place with cries of 'Live our beloved king!'—'Live Ferdinand VII.'—'Live religion!' Marshal the Duke of Reggio, who is still at Burgos, is constantly receiving fresh expressions of the impatience with which we are expected at Valladolid. The inhabitants of that town have given a proof of their good disposition, by taking up arms to repel a party under Empecinado, which had been sent thither to carry off the Countess O'Donnel, the wife of lieutenant-general O'Donnel, one of his most Catholic Majesty's most faithful servants. A column, under orders of general Albignac, of the first corps, traverses the country between Burgos and Santander, in order to induce the evacuation of the latter town, and to support the Spanish troops commanded by Quesada, which blockade Santona. These troops have obtained possession of the fort of Laredo, which places the road of Santona in their power. A slight engagement took place at the blockade of Pampeluna, between a few hundred men, who made a sortie on a convoy of provisions, and a detachment of the 6th regiment of the line, which immediately drove them

back into the place, with the loss of several killed, and about ten wounded. Order and tranquillity prevail in all the provinces occupied by the army."

Such was the account published by the commander-in-chief at Vittoria; and although the facts it recites are of unquestionable authority, the colouring may be fairly suspected of being too high. Burgos was entered by the French, on the 22d of April, without opposition. On the same day, marshal Moncey summoned the fortress of Figueras; but the governor, St. Miguel, refused, in most peremptory terms, to listen to the demand of the enemy. The spirited answer returned to the Frenchman is worthy of preservation, and manifested a resolution, which did credit to his gallantry, and the cause in which he was embarked: it was couched in the following terms:—

"SENOR GENERAL,—The fortress of St. Fernando de Figueras, which the nation has intrusted to my care, and to whose confidence I desire to make a return becoming a true Spaniard, and a free man, shall not be surrendered, nor placed in the hands of the royal enemies of France and Spain, as your excellency requires in your letter of this date, delivered to me by captain Laserra, your aide-de-camp; and its garrison, penetrated with the same sentiments as myself, are resolved to bury themselves under its ruin, rather than fail in the observance of their honour and their oaths.—I am sensible to the fact, and lament the prospect, that precious blood must flow on both sides; but it is not in my power to prevent it. With your excellency and your army alone resides the power to prevent the calamities which you deplore, by uniting yourselves with a people who so much desire liberty, instead of unjustly and forcibly imposing chains upon a nation which enjoys that liberty, and which neither acknowledges, nor will ever acknowledge, the right of any power to interfere in its political concerns, or receive, at foreign dictation, laws it alone must frame for itself.—As I am very far from accepting the proposals of your excellency, I lay aside, as entirely irrelevant, the proclamation which his royal highness the Duke of Angouleme has addressed to the Spaniards, which can only be good and useful for perfidious Spaniards, and unnatural children of their country; but not to true sons of that mother, whom they do highly value, and for whose prosperity and happiness they are disposed to sacrifice themselves.—This is the only answer I have to return to your excellency. Wishing not to fail in civility, I determined to admit the first flag of your excellency; but I must apprise you, that I shall not treat in the same manner the second; which comes with the same mission.—Given in the fortress of St. Fernando de Figueras, the first bulwark of the national liberty, this 22d of April, 1823. (Signed) "The Governor, SAN. ST. MIGUEL."

From the length of the time the French head-quarters remained at Vittoria, from the 17th of April to the 6th of May, it was conjectured, that negotiations were on foot between the Duke de Angouleme and the Cortes: but not a single step seems to have been taken on either side towards such an object; nor is it likely that such a step was ever contemplated. On the 9th of May, the head-quarters were removed to Burgos; and on the 14th, they were established at Valladolid. From this place, the army proceeded, by slow marches, towards the capital, without meeting with the slightest opposition from the constitutional troops. But an event now happened to Spain, which developed treachery on the part of one of her generals, and which, in itself, as well as in its ulterior consequences, proved highly detrimental to Spanish independence. It has been already observed, that Madrid, and the surrounding district, had been left under the command of the Count Abisbal, a man who, on a former occasion, had betrayed the popular cause, and furnished strong suspicion of his entertaining high notions of the royal prerogative. The troops under his immediate command, according to the highest estimation, did not exceed 4000 men; a force too insignificant to offer successful resistance to the approaching enemy, but which, by the opportunity it possessed of joining some other of the Spanish troops, would have been of essential service, in carrying into effect a plan, supposed to be in contemplation, to cut off the enemy's supplies after his arrival in the capital. If such a plan did really exist, the conduct of Abisbal must have had a powerful influence in rendering it abortive. While the Duke of Angouleme was yet several leagues distant from Madrid, the Spanish general opened a secret correspondence with him, which was followed by some kind of engagement, the particulars of which have never yet been made known. At the time, the treacherous general pretended that he had stipulated for a constitutional government; that the king should be brought back to Madrid; that a new cortes should be convoked; and that Ferdinand should proclaim a general amnesty. A report was also industriously circulated by the French party throughout the country, that Abisbal's measures were known and approved by several of the constitutional generals, particularly Morillo, Ballasteros, and Mina. This

was done with an intention of creating jealousies and distrust in the Spanish armies ; and it is too certain, the object was answered to a considerable extent. The treacherous baseness of Abisbal, however, was more limited in his object than he expected ; as several of his principal officers resisted his plans, and succeeded in preserving the fidelity of a great portion of his army to the constitutional cause. The fact proved to be, that his purpose was to detach his troops from all opposition to the French, if not to assist them in accomplishing the entire destruction of the authority of the cortes. Previous to his leaving the capital, on the 17th of May, he addressed the following

" PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF MADRID. "

" If military operations, and the desire of not compromising the generous people of Madrid, should force me to abandon the capital, I will not abandon it till some corps of the enemy supply the place of the garrison, appointed to protect public tranquillity, by means of a convention authorized by the laws of war. If some evil-disposed minds should flatter themselves with the hope of plunder and disorder, they must renounce their criminal plans, and rest convinced, that an exemplary punishment will be the reward of every movement not authorized by law. I have respected, and respect, the opinions of every one, because I am persuaded, that a liberal government should act thus, whilst those who are not pleased with the established laws, still do not fail to obey them punctually ; but I will not permit the fury of party to stain with blood the soil of the capital of the most high-minded nation, nor the ambitious and perfidious plans of a small number of persons to compromise the tranquillity of a city, distinguished by its patriotism and intelligence.

" ABISBAL. "

The general subsequently retired to a short distance from Madrid, taking with him as many of his troops as he had been able to seduce from their allegiance, who afterwards joined the French ; while he himself, hated by his countrymen, and probably despised by the invaders, speedily sought an asylum from disgrace in the French territory. The latter circumstance alone, warrants all the suspicions which have fallen on this man, that he was nothing better than the betrayer of his country to a foreign enemy.

At Madrid, the people were now in daily expectation of the arrival of the French. On the 18th, general Zayas, who had a command in the city, set off with a flag of truce for

Buitrago, the head-quarters of the Duke d'Angouleme, for the purpose of settling a convention for the evacuation of Madrid by the constitutionalists, and the entrance of the French. He returned on the 19th, in the morning, with the advice, that the Duke would make his entrance on the 24th. It being reported on the 20th, that the French were in Alcala, and were advancing, vast numbers of people, perhaps not less than 20,000, went outside the gate of Alcala. For two leagues the road was thronged with the towns-people, many of whom exhibited white ribands round their hats and arms, or round their waists, and generally indulged in the cries of "*Viva Fernando!*" "*Viva los Bourbons!*" "*Vivan los Francais!*" "*Vivera la Constitucion!*" The next day, thousands again sallied out, in expectation of the French; when about one in the day, the leader, Bessieres, who a short time before had given such alarm by his predatory incursions towards the capital, came to the gate, and some of his men advanced to the custom-house. General Zayas, being informed of it, went out to meet Bessieres, and told him of the treaty entered into with the French, by which no factious were to enter in beforehand, and that if he did not instantly withdraw his soldiers, he should compel him.

Bessieres, it appears, did not relish the language of Zayas, and told him, he would put to the proof which was the strongest party; but about one hundred cavalry soon made him quit his ground, and he was pursued for above a league, and lost a considerable number of his men. The infantry, about five hundred, with one piece of artillery, had followed; and as the crowds on the road much impeded them, they fired on them; and the cavalry, returning from the pursuit, either mistaking them for factious, or to glut their vengeance on the populace for shewing proofs of royalism, galloped over them, cutting about in all directions. About five hundred men, women, and children, were killed and wounded, and about a thousand were brought in as prisoners. A courier was despatched to the French, and the next day several officers came in to make arrangements for quarters, rations, &c. and it was agreed that they should enter one day sooner. The 22d, all was quiet.

On the 23d, at five in the morning, a division of about 4000

French arrived, Zayas and his troops having previously retired. As soon as it was known, the people assembled, relieved from the fear they had been in, and immediately began to pull down the *Lapida* of the Constitution, in the great square, replacing it with the king's picture. This might be about six o'clock, when the *Lapida* was broken into a hundred thousand pieces. From the great square the populace proceeded to the hall of the cortes, forced the doors open; broke the chandeliers, chairs, benches, figures, and statues—while others on the outside were actively employed in defacing the statues in the niches and windows. From the library, they took all the records, acts, and diaries of the cortes, tore them up, and threw them into a large bonfire, made for the purpose. By ten o'clock, all the balconies in the obscure, as well as the principal streets, were hung with tapestry and silks; the king's picture was placed in all the public buildings; the crowds increased in all directions; the houses of many of the citizens, who had been violent constitutionalists, more especially in the distant and out-quarters, were attacked, entered, and their property brought out and destroyed. At twelve at noon, the book of the Constitution and Riego's picture, were burnt, in the Plaza Mayor, by the common hangman. More troops arriving, all the posts were covered, sentries placed in every direction, and a stop put to further excesses. The old authorities were displaced, and new ones appointed. Proclamations were issued; two, in particular, of importance: the one announcing, that no persons, who had served in the late government, or been militiamen, should be eligible to employments; and the other, that the acts of the late pretended cortes would not be recognized, and that all things connected with state affairs, should be placed on the same footing as they existed before the 20th of March, in the year 1820. These were signed by the provincial junta, Erro, Eguia, and Calderon, who had accompanied the first French troops on their entering the capital.

In the evening, the city was generally and brilliantly illuminated, and the expressions of joy appeared fervent and universal:—the arrival of equipages, artillery, ammunition, cavalry, and infantry, during the day, was incessant:—the *vivas* accompanying them, to the French, the Bourbons, the king,

&c. &c. with *Nueva la Constitution*, were constantly heard,—the want of respectable people, however, was palpably obvious. The absence of the court is always felt at Madrid; but, independent of this, the city was more vacant than ever. The reason was, that as excesses in revenge were expected, a large portion of the respectable orders, and particularly such as had shewn any prominent predilection for the Constitution, had left that place for the neighbouring villages, and others remained shut up in their houses.

On the 24th, in the early part of the day, the Duke d'Angouleme, who had, on that morning, addressed a proclamation to the Spanish nation,* entered the gate of the Recoletos,

* Of this document, certainly calculated to answer the purpose of its promulgation, the following is a copy:—

“SPANIARDS!—Before the French army passed the Pyrenees, I declared to your generous nation, that France was not at war with it. I announced to it, that we came as friends and auxiliaries, to aid it in restoring the altars, delivering the king, and re-establishing in its bosom justice, order, and peace. I promised respect to property, safety to persons, and protection to the peaceable. Spain gave credit to my word. The provinces I have passed through have received the French soldiery as brethren; and the public voice will have told you, whether they have justified this reception, and whether I have kept my engagement.—Spaniards! If your king were still in his capital, the noble mission that the king my uncle has confided to me, and that you are acquainted with in all its parts, would be already nearly accomplished. It should have only, after having restored the monarch to liberty, to call his paternal solicitude to the evils his people have suffered; to the necessity they have of repose for the present, and *security* for the future.—The absence of his Majesty imposes other duties on me; the command of the army belongs to me; but whatever may be the bonds which attach me to your king, which unite France to Spain, the provinces delivered by our troops cannot, and ought not, to be governed by foreigners.—From the frontiers to the gates of Madrid, their administration has been confided provisionally to honourable Spaniards, whose devotion and fidelity are known to his Majesty, and who have acquired, in those difficult circumstances, new claims to his gratitude, and the esteem of the nation.—The moment is come for establishing, in a solemn and stable manner, a regency to govern the country, to organize a regular army, and concert with me on the means of consummating our great work, the deliverance of your king. This establishment presents serious difficulties, which frankness and loyalty do not permit us to dissimulate, but which necessity must conquer.—His Majesty's choice cannot be known, and it is not possible, without painfully prolonging the woes which press on the king

down the Prado, passing through a triumphal arch, and through an immense concourse of people, and the troops, to the house of the Duke de Villahenucasa, at the end of the saloon of the Prado, where he took up his residence. The Duke of Reggio alighted in front. In the course of the day came in Bessieres, Quesada, and Cisneras, the latter of whom was appointed to the chief command in Madrid. After the troops had defiled before the Duke, and the municipalities had paid their respects, an order was issued, re-establishing the councils of Castile and the Indies, and six of the old counselors of each were chosen, to form a committee, for the purpose of electing a regency, to act on, and in behalf of, the king, during his captivity. During the day, the same bustle as before, with the passing of troops, baggage, and ammunition, was observable. In the two days, it was calculated, that but little short of 40,000 men came in and round Madrid; 5000 horse were in the Prado; and 10,000 infantry passed on to Aranjuez and Toledo. The same exterior demonstrations of rejoicings, bells ringing, groups of females dancing to the tambour and castanets, illuminations, and the like, were still continued; and on the evening of the 24th, Palayo and Batanera, with a party of factious who had been taken prisoners,

and the nation, to call upon the provinces to concur in it.—In this difficult conjuncture, and for which the past offers no precedent to follow, I thought the properest measure, and the most national, and the most agreeable to the king, was, to convoke the ancient supreme council of Castile, and the supreme council of the Indies, whose high and various attributes embrace the kingdom and its foreign possessions, and to confide to those great bodies (independent by their elevation, and by the political position of those who compose them) the care of designating themselves the members of the regency. I have consequently convoked these councils, who will make their choice known to you.—The persons who will be honoured with their suffrages, will exercise the necessary authority, until the wished-for day, when your king, happy and free, can occupy himself with the consolidation of his throne, and securing, in his turn, the happiness of his subjects.—Spaniards! Take the word of a Bourbon for it. The beneficent monarch, who has sent me to you, will never separate in his mind, his vows for the liberty of a king of his blood, and the just hopes of a great and generous nation, the ally and friend of France.

“At the grand head-quarters of Alcovendas, May 23, 1823.

“LOUIS ANTOINE.”

and were being conducted to Estremadura, made their escape, and entered the city in triumph, to the number of three hundred.

Gay and brilliant as the description is of the reception which the French received on their entrance into the capital of Spain, he is but little acquainted with the motives and reasons of human conduct, who hence concludes, that it was decisive of the real sentiments of the people, or even of a majority of them. It is more than probable, had the French armies sustained such signal defeats, as to have allowed the cortes to return to Madrid in triumph, the appearances of enthusiastic welcome would have been still more ardent, and, I believe, much more sincere. That there were great numbers of people in the capital who cordially rejoiced at the prospect of seeing the restoration of the regal and ecclesiastical authorities to their former splendour, may be readily conceived; but while these were revelling in triumphant exultations at the probable approach of such an era, there were thousands within the city, of superior intelligence and purer patriotism, who deplored in silent agony the extinction of the liberties of their country, and the return of the reign of bigotry, and who only beheld, in the success of the enemy, a fatal prelude to a long-continued series of persecution and oppression, on the part of their unprincipled and cruel monarch.

On the very day of the Duke of Angouleme's entry into Madrid, the council of the Indies, and the council of Castile, assembled at Madrid; and on the 25th, they nominated a regency, to govern Spain during the captivity of the king, which was immediately formally recognized by the commander of the French army, and embraced the following individuals: the Duke of Infantado, the Duke of Montemart, the Baron d'Eroles, the Bishop of Osma, and Don Antonio Gomez Calderon. The regency was formally installed on the 30th, and forthwith entered upon their authority, by appointing the following ministers of state: M. Vergas Laguna, formerly ambassador at Rome, to the department of foreign affairs; M. Garcia de la Torre, of grace and justice; M. Salazar, of the marine; M. Erro, of finance; marshal San Juan, of war; M. Arnares, of the interior. Lieutenant-general Eguia was

named captain-general of the army; and M. de Campascardo, captain-general of Castile. A declaration of adherence to the king and regency was drawn up, and signed by about thirty of the Spanish grandees; in which they declaimed with characteristic asperity against the rebellious cortes and their acts of government; praised to the skies the *illustrious* Ferdinand, and his *magnanimous* cousin, the Duke d'Angouleme; and pledged their fidelity to the regency, in endeavouring to restore the *glory* of the monarchy, and the *splendour* of the Catholic church. The new regency lost no time in the manifestation of those principles by which they were known to be actuated. Rigorous measures were adopted towards the remaining friends of the Constitution. Decrees were passed for suspending the sale of national property, which, by the acts of the cortes, was declared to be at the disposal of the state; and also for rescinding a previous law, which limited the clergy to the receipt of half the tithes formerly paid to them. In a word, they commenced their authority by the most strenuous efforts to efface every vestige of liberty, and bring the country into that abject state of vassalage, under which it had groaned for centuries. They were only restrained in proceeding, with still more rapid strides, in their career of persecution and proscription, by the strong interposition of the French commander-in-chief, who discovered, in their ungovernable violence, a tendency towards rousing the indignation of the country both against them and the invaders.

An occurrence, extremely unfavourable to the cause of the constitutionalists, took place about this time in Portugal. That country had followed the example of its neighbour, by seizing the helm of the state, and procuring for itself a representative government. From its immediate contiguity to Spain, and having adopted a similar political code, it was confidently expected by the Spanish patriots, that Portugal would make a common cause with them. This hope was formed upon very natural grounds; for the Portuguese nation could not but see, that the stability of their own popular government was very intimately connected with that of Spain; and it was even said, that the former were on the point of furnishing a supply of troops; when a sudden counter-revolution was effected at Lisbon. A regiment of infantry had quitted the

capital on duty, and being met by its old commander, who had shewn a strong aversion to the new order of things, harangued the troops, and gained them over to his views. This happened on the 29th of May. He was joined by Don Miguel, the king's second son, and subsequently by general Sepulveda, and part of another regiment; and although some preparations were made to bring them to subjection, the contagion had spread so wide as to render all efforts of that kind unavailable. The royalists acquired the entire ascendancy, and the king was restored to the possession of arbitrary rule. There will be no difficulty in seeing the unfavourable results which this event necessarily produced on the Spanish nation; not only as it deprived them of the co-operation of their friends and neighbours, but as it weakened the confidence they reposed in the influence of popular principles.

But to return to the military operations. While the Duke of Angouleme was proceeding in his uninterrupted march on Madrid, marshal Moncey met with a most obstinate enemy in the person of the heroic Mina, in Catalonia. In spite of direct hostility, of intrigues, and bribes, that chief continued to resist all the efforts of the enemy, keeping him employed in harassing warfare, without permitting him to obtain the slightest advantage. He even entered France, and marched back into Spain, eluding the pursuit of superior forces, and presenting himself at points where he was little expected, then fighting and retiring, and leaving his enemies in a sort of amazement respecting him, which they in vain attempted to conceal.

Ballasteros, who commanded the best disciplined army of the constitutionalists, enthusiastically devoted to the cause, retreated on Valencia, as the French advanced into the interior of the country. Up to this period, his troops had never met with an enemy in the field; and in the whole of the general's conduct, as exhibited up to the period of which I now speak, there was nothing which shewed him in an advantageous light. The same remark will equally apply to Morillo, who commanded in Galicia, but who had hitherto remained supine and inactive.—Such was the situation of the principal armies of the constitutional government, at the time the French took possession of the city of Madrid.

CHAPTER XVI.

Meeting of the Spanish Cortes at Seville—Declaration of War against France—Manifesto to the Spanish Nation—Measures of the Government for raising Supplies—Debates on the Removal from Seville—Stormy Sitting of the 11th of June—Decree for Removal to Cadiz—Refusal of the King—His moral Incapacity declared—Appointment of a Regency—Reflections on the Act of the Cortes—The British and other Ministers refuse to accompany the Government—Arrival at Cadiz—Approach of the French to Seville—to Cadiz—Treachery and Defection of Morillo—His Addresses in Justification—Inaction, and subsequent Submission, of Ballasteros—Different Opinions of his Motives and Stipulations—Noble Attempt of Riego to restore the Army to the Constitutional Cause—Ineffectual—Riego taken Prisoner.

HAVING watched the progress of the French army to Madrid, and seen the head-quarters established there, it is time to take a view of the proceedings of the king and cortes, whose arrival at Seville, on the 10th of April, has already been recorded. On the 23d of that month, the deputies having arrived in sufficient number, held their first sitting in that city, when the president, signor Florez Calderon, delivered a patriotic address to the deputies, in which he strongly eulogized the spirit of the military and inhabitants, and exhorted to a firm and energetic resistance of the invader. In the sitting of the following day, a message from the minister for foreign affairs was read, in which was included a copy of the following

“DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST FRANCE.

“Whereas the Spanish territory has been invaded by the troops of the French government, without a declaration of war, and without any of those formalities which custom has sanctioned; and whereas this act of aggression can be viewed in no other light, than as a violation of the rights of nations, and an open commencement of hostilities against Spain; I, being bound to repel force by force, to defend the integrity of the states of the monarchy, and to chastise the audacity of the invading enemy, have resolved, after consulting the council of state, pursuant to the provision in article 236 of the Constitution, to declare war, as, in

fact, I do now declare it, against France. Wherefore I charge and command all the competent authorities to carry on hostilities, by sea and by land, against France, by all means in their power, consistently with the law of nations. I further order, that this my declaration of war shall be published with all due solemnity. You shall hold it to be promulgated for execution, making provision for printing, publishing, and distributing it.—In the Alcázar of Seville, April, 1823.—(Subscribed by the Royal sign manual.)—To Don EVARISTO SAN MIGUEL.”

In the sitting of cortes, on the 25th, the following articles were decreed, for the formation of a foreign legion:—

1. The government is authorized to form foreign corps.—2. There shall be admitted into the said corps, all foreign refugees and deserters now in Spain, or who may come thither, to defend the cause of liberty.—3. In each army of operation, and with the general in chief, there shall be formed a commission, consisting of three foreigners, known for their opinions, and which, in the judgment of the general officers, afford a complete guarantee for their conduct and their intentions.—4. The generals, chiefs, and foreign officers, shall have the rank which they enjoyed in their own country, and shall be incorporated with others of the same nation, in the corps which are forming.—5. The companies, battalions, or squadrons, shall be on the same footing, and composed of the same number of men, as the corps of the Spanish army.—6. The formation of a second company shall not be commenced until the first be completed. The same course shall be observed with respect to the third company, and so on, until the battalion be completed.—7. The promotion in these corps shall proceed on the same basis as in the Spanish army.—8. In each army of operation, such corps as aforesaid shall be named, The Liberal Foreign Legion.

In the sitting of the 27th of April, the president announced, that the government had sent to be communicated to the cortes, a manifesto, which his Majesty had thought proper to address to the Spanish nation, under present circumstances, to shew to them the unjust conduct of France, in invading the Spanish territory without a previous declaration of war. This document was of great length, in which his Majesty reminded his people, that when Napoleon, after reducing all Europe to silence, attacked Spain, they did not hesitate to pursue the path dictated by honour, they opened the way to the triumphs over the French Attila*; and might justly expect, that those

* It is observable, that the Spaniards, in all their public addresses, monopolize to themselves all the glory of driving the French out of the

who called themselves the restorers of order in Europe, would not imitate his example, but that the princes would especially respect a people to whom they owed so much. Unhappily, this was not the case; but pretexts, equally vain and indecorous, were alleged for so scandalous an aggression. "The restoration of the constitutional system in Spain," says the manifesto, "is called a military insurrection; my acceptance of it, violence; my adherence, captivity; the cortes, and the government that enjoy my confidence, and that of the nation, a faction; and these are the grounds on which they resolve to disturb the peace of the continent—to invade the Spanish territory—and again to devastate this unhappy country with fire and sword. Such flimsy pretexts," his Majesty observes, "cannot deceive Europe, which has already judged the conduct of our enemies, nor can they deceive Spain, which knows that no change was ever welcomed with such universal approbation, as the restoration of the Constitution, and that this solemn expression of the general will of the Spaniards, made it his Majesty's duty, as a Spaniard and as king, to yield to their desire, and to accept and swear to the laws, under the auspices of which they had preserved his throne, defended their independence, and expelled the enemy from their territory. These laws have been applauded and recognized in Europe, by the very powers which now pretend to invalidate their just and most glorious origin. As for me, who, placed by Providence at the head of a generous and magnanimous nation, owe every thing to it, I shall not fail, (I swear it to you,) in the sacred obligation, which so elevated a post, and such distinguished benefits, point out and present to me. Resolved to follow your fortunes, I will not, and must not, accept any other treaties, or conventions, though none have been proposed to my government, but such as are conformable to the political constitution of the monarchy. The monarchs of Europe, who have united against us, seduced by an implacable and rash party, allege my liberty as a pretext for their violence; but they are wholly mistaken, if they think to deceive the world, and still more me." His Majesty said, he

Peninsula, without so much as acknowledging the great share which the British army had in accomplishing that object.

had not forgotten how he had been deceived by Napoleon. He declared, therefore, that he would be king for them, and with them, alone; that his liberty was more properly guarded by them, than by hostile armies. United with the nation, with his people, he did not fear the rash invaders, who would find the fields, the precipices, the caverns, the walls, and even the houses, covered with the bones, and drenched with the blood, of their predecessors."

Whatever reliances the constitutional government had placed upon the defection of the French soldiery, or upon the ebullitions of patriotism to be displayed by their own countrymen; it became obvious, that without they could find out some means for replenishing the treasury, the cause in which they had embarked could not be successfully sustained. Money was absolutely necessary, for organizing those troops which the exigencies of the country required; and on the 6th of May, the cortes, after long discussions on the most efficient means of raising supplies, published a decree, of which the following is the substance:—The government was authorized to enforce, by military aid, the payment of the contributions with all possible speed; the funds of the *credito publico* were declared available for the public service; a per-centage to be allowed to those who paid contributions in advance; grain to be received in payment, to such an amount as the provincial deputations, and the generals, might think fit; an extraordinary war-subsidy to be established, estimated at 200,000,000 of reals, and which was to be levied upon all persons, whether foreigners or natives, in the ratio of their wealth. The standard by which their capacity to contribute was to be estimated, was, the sum each person was paying on the first of May, for the rent of his dwelling-house. They who dwelt in houses which were entirely their own property, were to be rated according to other houses of the same class; and in every case where the amount of rent was falsely stated, a fine of one year's rent was to be imposed on the proprietor. The scale of contribution was laid down according to the daily amount of rent, and where from two to six reals were to be thus paid, a contribution of five hundred reals were to be levied; and every increase of three reals per diem, in the rent, subjected the party to an increase of one hundred reals in contribution.

The payments were to commence within eight days after the publication of the decree, and to be completed within the months of June and July. This forced loan was to be repaid by the proceeds arising from the sale of the seventh part of church property, which the Spanish clergy were to give up to the nation, conformably to a papal bull.

From this period, the cortes was busily employed in attempts to raise supplies, and issuing decrees and orders for collecting troops; while the French, who had despatched several corps from Madrid, on the way towards Andalusia, were approaching the place where the government was established. As the former possessed no efficient force to oppose the enemy, the discussions were directed to the most effectual measures of securing their own personal safety, and still keeping in possession the king and the royal family. Some of the members of the cortes were of opinion, that this could not be securely done, without a removal from the continent; and on the 23d of May, a proposition was actually made to transport his majesty and the cortes to the Canaries. On this occasion, a stormy debate took place, but the motion was rejected by a majority of eight votes; at the same time it was resolved, that the fortress of Cadiz would furnish ample security against the enemy.

In the early part of June, the constitutional government betrayed evident signs of apprehension; for although they did not appear to have certain intelligence of the precise situation of the enemy, they well knew that delay must expose them to capture. Thus situated, on the 8th, Sir W. A'Court offered his mediation to the government, proposing to go in person to Madrid, and promising to do all in his power to bring back favourable conditions. The cortes replied, that they stood in no need of any foreign interference; at the same time that they expressed their gratitude for his good intentions. On the 9th, there was a grand sitting of the council of state, in which the Prince of Anglona declared, that they ought to negotiate with the Duke d'Angouleme. This advice being rejected by the council of state and the cortes, the Prince gave in his resignation. On the 10th, there was a very stormy sitting of the cortes.

The great crisis was now at hand, when decisive measures

could be delayed no longer. The sitting of the 11th is of such extreme importance in the affairs of the Peninsula, that I shall give their proceedings at length. It commenced by the following proposition, submitted by Senor Galiano, which was read:—"I pray the cortes, that in consideration of the situation of the country, they will be pleased to make a call on the government, to inquire of it what our situation is, and what are the measures which have been adopted, to place in security the person of his majesty and the cortes; and that the cortes adopt the necessary resolutions in pursuance of the reply which shall be made."

Senor Galiano, as author of the proposition, rose and said,—"It is time, now, rather to act than to speak; nevertheless, I cannot refrain from briefly stating the grounds on which my proposition rests. It is now time to withdraw the veil which covers our situation. The danger of the country is imminent; but in the same manner as at a former period, when the national representation was reduced to a narrow circuit, it can now also preserve the constitutional government, and maintain the glorious contest in which the nation has been involved. In order, however, to accomplish this, it is impossible not to perceive, that the prompt security of the person of the king and the cortes is indispensable. To effect this, is to save the country, since, though the monarchy never dies, (*applause in the galleries.*) I repeat it, since the monarchy never dies, as it is fixed by the fundamental law; without that basis, we should be lost. The question, then, is one of preservation. It is to prevent the person of the king from falling into the power of the enemy. It is, in a word, to secure the salvation of the country. I ask no more than, that the cortes should recollect what happened in Naples, and what has just been done in Portugal. Let us, therefore, summon the government before us,—let us ascertain what is the situation of the country,—and let us then determine to rescue his majesty from the precipice on which perfidious counsellors have placed him. At the same time, I would beg, not of the cortes, but of my fellow-citizens, that they would preserve that calmness which is suitable to the present moment. Calmness and union with the national representation, was never more necessary than at a crisis such as this. Never was there an occasion, when it was so essen-

tial for Spaniards to listen to the voice of their representatives. They must be convinced, that their representatives cannot be surpassed in their wishes for the welfare of their country, and that, in whatever difficulties they may be placed, they will ever maintain the Constitution. If they should ever fall under the weight of misfortunes, let it be with glory for the country." (*Continued applause.*)

The proposition was declared to be conformable to article 100 of the regulations of the cortes, and was submitted to discussion.

Senor Arguelles moved, as an addition to Senor Galiano's motion, that the cortes should continue in a permanent sitting until the proposed object was obtained.

Senor Galiano expressed his readiness to make that addition to his motion, as it was his wish that the sitting of the cortes should be permanent. The proposition, thus amended, was agreed to. Afterwards several deputies proposed, that it should be declared to be carried unanimously.

Senor Vargas then rose, and said, that he did not approve of it. Senor Salvato moved, that it should be stated, that one deputy only had not given his approbation to the motion.

Senor Abear said—I have concurred in the motion; but if it is to be expressly stated, that it was carried unanimously, I will not approve of it. Hereupon the conversation dropped; and the cortes proceeded for some time with ordinary business. The president announced, that the secretaries of state were now present, and that the motion of Senor Galiano was about to be read to them.

Senor Alava.—As this sitting is one of the most important in which a legislative assembly can be engaged; I propose, that all the articles of the regulations be strictly adhered to; and, consequently, that not the slightest mark of approval or disapproval be allowed.

The President.—The spectators are informed, that they are prohibited from taking any notice of the acts of the congress. The enforcement of this article of the regulations belongs to the president, who will discharge his duty with the necessary firmness. The motion was then read.

Senor Galiano said, that, in the first place, he wished the ministers to state the position occupied by the enemy.

The secretary of state for the war department said, The cortes are already acquainted with the difficulties the military commanders experienced in obtaining information of the enemy's movements. The French have availed themselves of the factious, by sending them two or three leagues in advance, for the purpose of disguising their intentions. The factious treat the citizens with the greatest severity. On this ground, brigadier Plasencia, of whom the government had asked an explanation, why he did not circumstantially detail the force that had entered Madrid, represented to the government the impossibility of exactly knowing the enemy's movement. Nevertheless, the government had succeeded in obtaining an account, nearly correct, of the force which the French have in our territory. To obtain possession of the capital, the French divided themselves into three corps; and the government calculated that about 30,000 men, including 7000 cavalry, arrived at Madrid. As for the centre corps, it is not understood to consist of any other force than Molitor's division. Its object is to cover Arragon, as far as Lerida. The troops which have entered Catalonia, under the command of marshal Moncey, amount to from 15,000 to 20,000 men. They are divided on three points, always concentrating themselves towards Manresa. General Mina, at the head of his valiant troops, continues to maintain himself in advantageous positions; but in his last despatches, he points out the necessity of sending him reinforcements, as he has to cover the important fortresses of Figueras, Barcelona, Tarragona, and others, in which duty a great part of his force is employed; so that there only remains to him a corps of 5000 men, divided into different columns. The total force which has entered Spain, the government estimates at upwards of 80,000 men, including 10,000 cavalry. The enemy's force in the capital was formed into three divisions; one advanced upon Talavera; soon after, another marched towards Aranjuez, to take the line of the Tagus. They began by operations against our troops, which occupied the bridge of Arzobispo. According to the information communicated by general Casteldorrios and general Lopez Banos, these troops of the enemy amounted to 5000 men. Later despatches; and particularly one dated the 4th, stated, that the enemy's corps, which had been at Talavera, had obtained a

reinforcement, amounting to other 5000 men. The troops of the enemy's centre corps advanced by the way of La Mancha. The government had difficulty in ascertaining its progress ; but under date of the 4th, it was learnt, that a vanguard had arrived at Madridegos, and afterwards, that these troops belonged to the royal guard. The third column, which forms the enemy's left, has been approximating to the Serranea de Cuenza, to repel the troops under general Ballasteros. The minister then proceeded to describe the advance of the French towards Seville. In the course of his statement, he observed, that the government being sensible of the necessity of forming a second echelon at Cordova, succeeded with difficulty in sending a battalion thither. It was fit the cortes should know, that the army of reserve, the establishment of which was eleven battalions of infantry, was reduced to four battalions, and must remain in that state until the new drafts arrive, which will be slowly. In consequence of the deficiency of resources, the government applied to the cortes, who have invested them with ample powers ; but notwithstanding the efforts made by the provisional deputations to meet the demands made upon them, all that is wished to be done is not yet accomplished. On the other hand, the necessity of preserving the fortress of Ceuta, has obliged the government to send veteran troops thither. To these circumstances it was owing, that the government had not been able to carry into effect some arrangements which had been contemplated.

Senor Galiano wished to know when the government received information of the entrance of the French into Carolina? The minister replied—Yesterday morning between nine and ten. Senor Galiano then asked, what measures had been adopted for placing the person of his majesty and the national representation out of the reach of every attempt?

The secretary of state for grace and justice said,—that about ten or more days ago, the government being informed that the French, though contrary to all military rules, were about to penetrate into Andalusia, assembled a junta of generals, and other military persons worthy of confidence. In order to obtain the opinion of this junta, two questions were proposed ;—first, whether, if in the course of the month of June, the French should invade Andalusia by any point whatever,

there was any probability, from the number and situation of our forces, of preventing the invasion?—secondly, if there were no probability of preventing the invasion, to what point ought the government and the cortes to be removed? This junta met, and was presided by the minister for grace and justice. All the members of the junta agreed, that there was no probability of the invasion being prevented. With regard to the second question, all were of opinion, that no other point was so proper as the Isle of Leon. Farther advices, some confidential, others vague, being received, of the progress of the French, and the government wishing to act in this matter with the greatest security and regularity, again put the same questions, in writing, to the aforesaid junta; who answered them in the same manner. The information of yesterday being received, a report of the whole was made to the king. His majesty, in concurrence with the opinion of his ministers, and in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, ordered, that the council of state should be consulted with all the haste that circumstances required. The council immediately assembled. The secretaries of state remained with it until eleven at night. The council, considering that it would be impossible then to make a report, adjourned until the following day, with an understanding, that the sitting should be permanent until the business was concluded. Last night, between eight and nine, the report was received, in which the council concurred with the opinion of the generals, in the absolute necessity of removing the cortes and government, differing solely with regard to the point to which they should remove, which the council thought, ought to be Algesiras. The ministers, acting with their usual frankness, immediately notified to his majesty the result. At the present moment they can say no more, except, that at the time of their coming here, his majesty had not taken a definitive resolution. The cortes might be assured, that the ministers had done, and would do, as far as in their power, every thing that ought to be done.

Senor Galiano put several other questions to the secretaries of state; the tendency of which was, whether, as ministers, they thought the Constitution could be maintained, if the removal was not effected? The secretary for grace and justice replied, that he was not prepared to answer all the questions

put to him, not having the opportunity of conferring with his colleagues, particularly as two of them were not at that moment present. But he could assure the cortes, that the ministers were firmly convinced, that the safety of the country depended upon the removal of the government and the cortes to a place of greater security.

Senor Galiano then made a speech, in which he pointed out the necessity of the cortes immediately addressing themselves to the king, to induce him to resolve to leave Seville with the government and the cortes. He moved, that a deputation should wait on his majesty, and state to him the necessity for his removal. This motion was agreed to without discussion.

Senor Arguelles moved, that the Isle of Leon should be fixed on for the place of removal, and that the time of departure should, at the latest, be to-morrow at noon. After some discussion, this motion was also agreed to.

A message from one of the ministers intimated, that his majesty had appointed five o'clock that evening, for receiving the deputation. Soon after, the deputation went forth. It consisted of Senores Don Cayetano Valdes, Becerra, Calderon, Abreu, Benito, Moure, Prat, Surra, Ayllon, Tomas, Trojello, Montesinos, Suanez, Llorente, and two secretaries.

On the return of the deputation from the palace, its president, Don Cayetano Valdes, said—"The deputation of the cortes having waited on his majesty, represented to him, that the cortes were in a permanent sitting, and had resolved on their removal to-morrow, as, according to the accounts which had been received, and the situation of affairs, if the enemy made a few forced marches, the removal could not be accomplished; and that it was therefore fit, that his majesty and the cortes should proceed to the Isle of Leon. The deputation accordingly recommended to his majesty, that he should act now as graciously as he had done at Madrid, when he resolved to come to this city, as Seville was not a point of security. It was also observed, that when the cortes resolved to come to Seville, that resolution was adopted, because, to the enemy it was a very different thing, the advancing only 80 leagues, or having to advance 180. Now, however, that the enemy had entered the capital, and were approaching this city, it was fit

that his majesty should be removed to some secure point, such as the strong walls of Cadiz presented. His majesty answered, that his conscience, and the interests of his subjects, did not permit him to leave this city; that, as a private individual, he did not think his removal inconvenient; but that, as a king, his conscience did not permit him to accede to it. The deputation represented to his majesty, that his conscience was safe, since, though as a man he might err, as a constitutional king, he was subject to no responsibility; that he should hearken to the advice of his counsellors, and the representatives of the people, on whom lay the burden of the responsibility for the salvation of the country. His majesty signified, that he had given his answer. The mission of the deputation being completed, they now stated to the cortes, that his majesty did not think the removal convenient."

Senor Galiano, after a short speech, submitted the following proposition:—"I pray the cortes, that in consideration of the refusal of his majesty to place his royal person and family in safety from the invasion of the enemy, it be declared, that the provisional case has occurred, for regarding his majesty in the situation of moral impediment, contemplated by article 167 of the Constitution; and that a provisional regency be appointed, which, solely for the case of the removal, shall possess the faculties of executive power."—The motion was opposed by Senores Vega and Infanzon Romero; and supported by Senores Arguelles and Oliver. It was finally adopted.

On the motion of Senor Infantes, a commission was appointed, to nominate the individuals who should compose the regency. This commission reported, that the regency should consist of three members, and recommended for that purpose the following persons, viz. Don Cayetana Valdes, deputy of the cortes, to be president; Don Gabriel de Ciscar, and Don Gaspar de Vigolet, counsellors of state. The recommendation was adopted, and the above individuals were formally installed and sworn as regents.

At three in the morning, the president stated, that a confidential person had been sent, to ascertain whether the regency had experienced opposition from any authorities; and he had the satisfaction to announce to the cortes, that the regents had met with no obstacles in the exercise of their functions.

Inquiry had also been made, whether any inconvenience would arise to the regency, if the cortes should, for a few hours, suspend their sitting. To this arrangement the regency saw no objection; and he therefore proposed, that the cortes should adjourn until eight in the morning.

Senor Galiano observed, that besides the moral effects which might be produced by the continuance of the sitting, the cortes had not yet completed the business for which they had declared themselves permanent. In case of their being in the mean time required to meet, that call upon them would be for some sudden and unexpected event, and much inconvenience might arise, if the deputies had to come from their respective residences. Señores Saavedra and Soria also spoke against the adjournment. The question being put, whether the sitting should be suspended, in order to be resumed at eight in the morning, it was unanimously decided that it should not be suspended.

When the decision of the cortes, for the removal of the king, became generally known in Seville, on the morning of the 12th, great agitation prevailed in the city, and rumours were abroad, that the people would oppose the removal of his majesty. As if the regency shared in the apprehension, they caused all the posts in the town to be occupied. The English colonel Downie, who was suspected to favour a scheme for rescuing Ferdinand, with several officers of the active militia, were surprised and arrested in the vicinity of the palace. From this moment, the plan, if it ever existed, became hopeless; and it cannot be doubted, his majesty was the subject of violence and force in the projected transfer. The whole of this day passed in indescribable confusion. There was neither money, nor means of conveyance; the deputies ran to the quay to secure their luggage in the boats, whilst, in some instances, the boatmen concealed themselves, to avoid proceeding to the destination. At length, at six o'clock in the evening, the king set out, under an escort composed of the Madrid militia, the regiment of the queen, infantry of the line, and a troop of cavalry, the constitutional general Riego having a command, though the escort was under the supreme direction of general Zayas, who commanded at Madrid after the defection of Abisbal.

By the 13th of June, the deputies, counsellors of state, and all the public functionaries, except a few of the latter who disapproved of the late acts of the government, had quitted Seville. No sooner was this fact ascertained, than the royalist party in the city, now no longer under the dread of the constitutional soldiery, and in expectation of the speedy arrival of the French, began to display their zeal for the cause of absolute rule. A counter-revolution was consummated in a few hours throughout Seville. The Lapida, or stone of the Constitution, was broken into a thousand pieces; the Turk's coffee-house, in which the patriotic meetings were held, was ransacked from top to bottom, as was the hall of the cortes; and deputies were sent to the regency of Madrid, and to the French generals who were marching on the city, with adulatory addresses, and expressions of the most ardent solicitude for the presence of the *liberating army*.

The enemies of the cortes and the constitutional government have been unsparing in their denunciations against the former, for insisting upon the removal to Cadiz; and especially for the appointment of a regency, which they denominate an absolute dethronement of the king. But those who thus censure, should recollect, that the refusal of his majesty left to the cortes no alternative between the measure they adopted, and the surrender of the king to the invaders; the entire dissolution of the government; and their own flight or personal thralldom. —After so many proofs of imbecility and insincerity on the part of Ferdinand, was it not natural to conclude, that his unwillingness to be removed to Cadiz arose from either a secret understanding with the French, or a hope that their arrival would throw him into their hands, and enable him to resume his despotic sway? Besides, a case of infidelity on the part of the monarch, couched under the terms of *mental incapacity*, had been foreseen and provided against, by an article of the constitutional code; and if the *literal* interpretation of this article did not fully justify the appointment of an executive, without the personal participation of the king, for a *limited* period, and for a *specific* object, its analogy to present circumstances, and the urgency of their situation, ought to protect the cortes from the charge of a wanton stretch of their authority.

This temporary suspension of the royal authority, however, operated most injuriously to the constitutional government. It furnished the royalist party with a subject of crimination against the patriots, by rousing suspicions, that their leaders intended nothing less than overturning the monarchy; it supplied the half-hearted military commanders of the constitutionalists with an excuse for abandoning the cause, under a pretence that the code had been violated; and it had the effect of cutting off all diplomatic intercourse with those countries, which, if they had shewn no peculiar partiality to Spanish freedom, had at least manifested no hostility towards it. No sooner was the appointment of the regency, and the intended removal, made known to the British minister who had hitherto attended the court of Ferdinand, than he sent a note to the government, in which he stated, that as he was accredited to the king, and not to a regency, he could not follow the king to Cadiz without further instructions. The cortes, then, in order that they might remove the objections of Sir W. A'Court, ordered his letter to be answered by a declaration, that his majesty would be under restraint only on his journey, but that he would resume his functions in Cadiz. Sir William replied, that he could not go, for that he did not see his objection removed by the proposed arrangement. He would, therefore, remain at Seville, until he received fresh instructions from his government in the altered state of things. What those instructions were, may be gathered from this fact, that Sir William subsequently removed to Gibraltar, and never made his appearance at Cadiz during the remainder of the struggle. The minister of the United States of America, and the ambassadors of the Netherlands and of Sweden, followed the same course; while the charge d'affaires of Saxony set out with the queen, she being a princess of the house of Saxony.

The progress of the king, his family, and the deputies, towards the Isle of Leon, was uninterrupted, and furnished no incidents worth detailing. On the 14th of June, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the royal fugitives, with their escort, entered within the walls. The cortes, immediately on their arrival, declared the king to be restored to the exercise of his prerogatives, and the government was carried on under his

name as before. Besides the troops already occupying this important fortress, the number entering with the government amounted, according to the most correct authority, to between six and seven thousand men.—Leaving this city for the present, at once the cradle and the grave of Spanish liberty, it will be necessary to recur to events passing in other parts of the Peninsula.

In the recital made by the war-secretary to the cortes on the 11th, given above, the reader will find the amount of the enemy's troops stated, and the direction taken by different corps after his arrival in the capital, which will relieve the historian from the necessity of repeating that information. The French divisions moving on Seville, under general Bourmont, in their approach to that city, attacked a corps of 600 Spaniards at Vilches, and defeated them. From thence the victorious army proceeded, without meeting with a single enemy, to Seville, where it arrived on the 21st, just nine days after the removal of the king and the cortes. In the intermediate time, the constitutional general Lopez Banos entered Seville at the head of about 1500 troops, unapprized, it appears, of the removal of the government, where he met with violent opposition from the inhabitants. A sanguinary conflict ensued, in which many of the inhabitants fell; and the general, having levied contributions, decamped, on learning the approach of the enemy. By the 25th, generals Bourmont and Bourdesoult, who had been marched in different directions from Madrid towards Cadiz, had arrived to form the blockade of that city.

It has already been observed, that the events of the campaign furnish but few materials for historical record; and even those of very trifling interest. If some gallant struggles in Catalonia, which took place subsequent to the period of which we write, be excepted, there is scarcely a military incident that deserves an appellation of more importance, than an affair of posts. The constitutional cause of Spain was destined to receive its death-wound, rather through the imbecility or treachery of its military chiefs, than from the prowess of its invaders; and it is chiefly to political occurrences we must look for the acceleration to the downfall of Spanish independence.

General Morillo commanded a corps of about 4000 constitutionalists in Galicia, and had his head-quarters at Lugo, when the French army took possession of the capital. General Bourk, at the head of a French force of about 5000 men, was despatched in that direction; and it is by no means improbable that Morillo had opened a treacherous intercourse with the enemy, long before the latter approached Galicia. Be this as it may, while the French were yet at a considerable distance, and while he possessed ample means of resistance, the traitor developed his real character, by an open declaration of his defection from a cause which he had sworn to sustain. Tempted, no doubt, by French gold and French promises, he betrayed his trust to the enemies of his country, and covered himself with lasting infamy. To furnish himself with some plausible pretext for this abandonment of the path of honour, he seized upon the circumstance of the cortes having suspended Ferdinand's authority on the removal from Seville; though he must have known, that within the short space of three days, the king had been fully restored to the exercise of the royal functions. The latter circumstance, however, he carefully concealed from the army, while he blazoned forth the enormity of the former, in order to gain over the soldiery to his views. To this duplicity he added the arts of falsehood, causing it to be circulated, that his negotiations with the enemy stipulated for the recognition of a constitutional government in Spain. Subsequent events proved, that these representations were entirely destitute of foundation; and that, if this base betrayer of his country ever demanded a conventional article in favour of public liberty, it was never conceded.

On the 26th of June, Morillo addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, and another to the inhabitants of the provinces in which he commanded,—in both of which, with an affected dignity, assumed only the better to deceive, he pretends to a high share of patriotism. In the former he says:—"You have manifested your resolution not to obey the orders of a regency which the cortes have installed at Seville, by depriving the constitutional king of his powers, in a manner reprov'd by our social compact. Animated with the same sentiments as yourselves, I have formed the same wishes, and I declare to you, that I do not recognize the government which the cortes have

illegally established ; but these provinces must not be abandoned to the fury of anarchy. I shall retain the command of the army, and, aided by a government junta, I shall adopt the measures which circumstances may require ; obeying no authority, until the king and the nation establish the kind of government which ought to prevail in our country. * * * * A flag of truce will make known our determination to the French general who is opposed to us, and to whom I will propose to suspend hostilities. *If he does not accede to my propositions, and if he requires from us humiliating conditions, then you must prepare to fight.* You have told me that I merit your confidence, and you have made me the depositary of the honour of the army. I shall know how to preserve them ; and whatever may be the dangers which surround us, never will I yield with ignominy."

In his address to the provinces, the arch-traitor flourishes in the following terms:—"Since the intelligence has been confirmed, that the cortes had, at Seville, named a regency, thereby depriving the king of his powers, although no case had occurred, which had been provided for by the Constitution to authorize those acts, which they performed without the forms required by the regulations, and by the ordinances ; I have received successive deputations of the chiefs and officers of the second and third divisions, who declared to me, that all the troops under their command had determined not to obey that regency. The inhabitants having manifested the same sentiments, I, being desirous to prevent the disorganization of the army, and to prevent also ferocious anarchists from carrying desolation through these provinces, have resolved to declare, in a public and notorious manner, that I do not acknowledge the regency established by the cortes at Seville ; because the Constitution has been violated by that illegal act ; and because I wish in no wise to be implicated in the evils, which, to all appearances, will arise from that inconsiderate proceeding. But, in order not to act lightly, and to be completely certain as to the state of public opinion with regard to the affairs of Seville, I this morning assembled all the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities, and was thus enabled to convince myself, that the population fully participate in the sentiments of the troops ; and that a govern-

ment, which is the result of the most illegal act, cannot be recognized."

The address with which Morillo conducted his dishonourable defection from the government and cortes, aided by his personal influence and the deceptions which he practised, succeeded beyond all reasonable expectation. His army was not merely neutralized in the contest, but was rendered effectively serviceable to the invader; the inhabitants of an important district in the country were paralyzed in their exertions in favour of the Constitution; and an unobstructed road was made to the French troops to the posts of Corunna, Vigo, and Ferrol. The brave general Quiroga, however, who was second in command to Morillo, had virtue enough to resist the example set by his superior; unawed by the hopeless situation of his country, and unmoved by the tempting offers of its enemies, he made his way to Corunna, and hastened to place it in the best state of defence of which it was capable.

Another, and a still more serious, mischief, befell the constitutional government, in the treacherous behaviour of general Ballasteros, which, although it did not occur for more than a month after Morillo had sold himself to the French, may be here introduced most appropriately, not only as it connects the two principal causes which led to the final extinction of the cause of independence in Spain, but as it will leave me more at liberty to pursue, in an uninterrupted series, the concluding events of the war and the revolution.

Ballasteros was stationed in Arragon when the French army entered Spain, and to him was confided the defence of that province, as well as those of Valencia, Murcia, and Grenada. This army consisted of not less than 20,000 men, and was principally composed of old veteran troops, whose zeal for the Constitution was as well known as their courage and discipline. It was to this army the government looked with the greatest confidence; and from the general character of the chief, who in the war of independence had displayed an ardent and consistent zeal against the enemy, an implicit reliance was placed on his fidelity. From the commencement of warlike operations on the part of the enemy, however, if we cannot trace the marks of treachery to the cause of his country, we can discover in his conduct an inertness, supineness,

and want of skill, which shewed his unfitness for such a command. Lieutenant-general Molitor, commander-in-chief of the second corps of the French army, with a force inferior in number, was directed against Ballasteros, who, on his approach, commenced a retreat, which he continued without firing a gun, until he reached the city of Valencia. This place he again abandoned as the French advanced, who, without the appearance of resistance, took possession of it on the 13th of June.

From Valencia, the Spanish chief, without an apparent effort to check the approach of the enemy, or rouse the population to resistance, retired on Murcia, and subsequently to Granada. Whether Ballasteros had, previous to this time, designed to betray his important trust, has never yet been clearly ascertained. If such was the fact, however, he determined to furnish himself with an apology, by purposely giving the enemy such advantages, as might seem to justify the measure for entering into a convention with them. On the 18th of July, Molitor's army came in contact with his rear-guard, and from this day to the 28th, there were some smart skirmishes, when victory declared in favour of the French. Those who incline to an opinion that Ballasteros meditated a convention with the French, before any serious disasters had happened to his army, rest their views, in part at least, on a passage contained in the French general's official despatch, which reads as follows:—"Previous to the action of the 28th, general Ballasteros had sent persons to parley, but his propositions were not accepted. Every thing leads to a belief, that at this moment (August 1,) he has sent again to treat, relative to his submission to his Catholic majesty."

There are others who seem inclined, for the most part, to ascribe his compromise with the enemy to his want of military skill to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation. On this subject, an officer in Ballasteros's army has the following observations:—"The submission of Ballasteros must, doubtless, surprise all the friends of liberty; but without entering into the detail of all the causes which have led to it, I will content myself with observing, that the general was not possessed of the necessary qualifications to conduct his army, in the difficult circumstances in which it was placed; he was

not able to direct the military administration, to combat, or to raise the spirits of his troops, which were discouraged by a retreat of 180 leagues, without any resources but arbitrary requisitions, which would, in the end, have raised the inhabitants against us. The cortes, from whom we received only reprimands, but no succours, became sensible, when it was too late, of the inability of Ballasteros: the French had profited by the disorder; and by our dissension, some of the principal officers on the staff, beginning with the general, were gained, so that, in less than a week, we saw an army of nearly 20,000 men disperse, and, in fine, vanish; whereas, if it had been properly commanded, we might have acquired the greatest glory."

Leaving the real motives and the merits of this transaction to be developed by the future historian, when new lights shall be added to our present knowledge, I proceed to observe, that about the 4th of August, Ballasteros concluded with Molitor a convention, in which it was stipulated, that he, as well as the troops he commanded, should recognize the authority of the Madrid regency; that he should issue orders to the governors of Carthage, Alicante, Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Peniscola, Los Penos de St. Pedro, Mozen, and Venasque, all comprised within the circle of his jurisdiction, to recognize it equally; and that he would use his endeavours to induce general Zayas to follow his example. In return, Molitor engaged that Ballasteros, and the officers in his army, should preserve their rank and titles; and that provisional cantonments should be assigned by the French commander, for the reception of his troops. It may be proper to observe, that with reference to general Zayas, and the places which were to receive the orders of Ballasteros to surrender, this convention operated to a very limited extent, as Zayas himself, and most of the fortresses, remained faithful to the Constitution, as long as resistance to the French remained available.

Of the precise nature of the stipulations in respect of Ballasteros's army, beyond what is above recited, no information has hitherto (November, 1823,) transpired. It does not appear, however, that any engagement was entered into for the active employment of this army with that of the French; but it certainly went to the extent of rendering it unavailable

to the cause of the cortes. The apologists for the Spanish commander have wished it to be believed, that the basis of the convention embraced an understanding on the part of the French general, that Spain should retain a representative government, with a limited monarchy. Nothing can be less probable than this supposition. The French commanders had no authority to enter into such engagement; nor have they ever shewn a disposition to favour such an object. Besides, if they had in this case actually made this stipulation, their breach of the convention would long since have been pleaded to their disadvantage and disgrace.

Independent of the physical loss sustained by the government at Cadiz, of this efficient army, the sum and centre, and its hope, its moral influence was incalculably great. The most sanguine and zealous among the Spanish patriots were dispirited; all confidence in the military chiefs was shaken or destroyed; so that if the chance of rousing the population to resistance had existed in a tenfold degree, the most gigantic efforts would have been paralyzed by a deadly jealousy of their leaders. The nation had seen three of their principal armies annihilated, not in the field of honourable combat, but most basely and treacherously surrendered to an unprincipled invader, who entered their territory with a formal and avowed purpose of fastening upon them the fetters of political and ecclesiastical despotism.

Before I finally quit the army of Ballasteros, I shall advert to another occurrence, with which it is not remotely connected, though it carries the history to a more advanced period than may be strictly proper, in the order of chronological arrangement. At Cadiz, the calamity of Ballasteros's defection had been severely felt; and it was well known there, that his army was lying in a state of complete inactivity, conformable to the engagement he had entered into with the French general. It was believed that the disaffection did not attach to the troops, and that if some popular leader of the constitutional cause could gain access to them, they might be restored to the service of their country. The difficulties in carrying such a measure into execution were great, and the danger imminent. But what will not an ardent zeal brave, when warmed with the love of country? General Riego seemed a man pre-eminently

calculated for such a deed of noble daring; but Riego was within the city of Cadiz, which at this time was surrounded by French troops on the land side, and blockaded by sea with a French squadron. The project, however, was proposed to him—accepted—and executed. By a piece of good fortune, the general, in quitting the harbour, eluded the enemy's ships, and, about the 5th of September, landed at Malaga, in Granada, where general Zayas was then stationed with a corps of from three to four thousand constitutionalists. Of this force he took the command, according to the orders he brought from Cadiz; and being within a short distance of the place where Ballasteros was with his troops, Riego instantly put his little army in motion for that destination. Of this bold, but eventually disastrous expedition, the following is the most correct account I have been able to collect.—

On the morning of the 10th of September, Riego appeared at the head of his corps at Priego, in front of Ballasteros, who occupied a defensive position along the Granada road, while the division of general Don Ignatius Balanzat occupied the right of the Calvaire de Priego. Ballasteros, most probably suspecting the object contemplated by Riego, hastily drew up a party of *Tirailleurs*, who commenced a firing, by which an aide-de-camp of Riego, and several of his soldiers, were killed. The constitutional leader then demanded a parley,—which was granted; a personal interview between the two chiefs followed; and proposing, that Ballasteros, with his army, should resume operations against the common enemy, made a tender of his services, to act in a subordinate command under him. To this proposal a direct negative was returned, the general observing, that he had pledged his word to the French, and that he was determined to abide by it. Riego having failed to make an impression upon the soldiers favourable to his views, and receiving also from their commander a refusal to join him, conceived the bold resolution of taking him prisoner. For this purpose, he instantly ordered his escort to disarm the general's guards, and seize his person; and the command was promptly obeyed. Unfortunately, however, for the success of this achievement, general Balanzat, second in command to Ballasteros, escaped from the house in which the interview was held, and flying among the soldiers, harangued them with

great fervour, acquainted them with the captivity of their general, and exhorted them to rescue their chief out of the hands of traitors. The appeal was successful; and they immediately prepared to act against the forces of Riego. That general now perceived the absolute necessity of abandoning the enterprise: he was compelled to give up his prisoner; hastily put himself at the head of his gallant band, and commenced a retreat upon Alcantete and Mastos. By this time, the French general Molitor had put in motion several corps, some to pursue, and others to intercept his retreat. On the 13th, Riego occupied the town of Jaen, where he was attacked by very superior numbers, under the French general Bonnemains, and his little army sustained a severe loss. The following day, surrounded on every side, the remainder of his forces were killed, wounded, taken prisoners, or dispersed, at Jorda; while he himself, on the 15th, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, with two colonels and a captain, in a farmhouse near Arquillos, when he was conducted to the prison of La Carolina.

Of the particulars connected with the seizure of the unfortunate Riego, the following are not without interest; with which I shall terminate the present chapter.

“After having been completely defeated by the French, Riego wandered in the mountains, with about twenty followers, on horseback, fifteen of whom were superior officers. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he met the hermit of *La Torre de Pedrogil*, and an inhabitant of Vilches, named Lopez Lara. He took them aside, and said—“My friends, you have now an opportunity of making your own and families’ fortunes; you have only to conduct me, unobserved by any one whatever, to Carolina, Carboneras, and Navas de Tolosa, where I have good friends, who will procure me a guide to Estremadura, whither I am desirous of proceeding.” The hermit and his companion refused his offers; but Riego caused them to be seized, and mounted upon two mules, declaring to them at the same time, that whether willing or not, they should serve as guides to the troop. At night-fall they proceeded onward. Riego spoke to his companions of his journey from Madrid into Andalusia, of the places where he found acquaintance, &c. The guides concluded, from this

unguarded conversation, that he was the famous Riego. From that moment the brave Lopez Lara was only occupied in devising means for delivering this notorious criminal into the hands of justice. At day-break they found themselves near the farm Baquevizones. Riego said, that they would demand an asylum there: on which Lara knocked at the door, and it so happened, that it was one of his own brothers, named Mateo, who came and opened it. Riego, fearing that too numerous an escort would betray him, would only permit three of his faithful followers to enter with him. One of these was an English colonel, who, impressed with mistrust, hastily closed the door, locked it, and pocketed the key. They fed their horses, and reposed themselves in the stable, with their drawn swords by their sides. Riego, on awaking, peremptorily said to Lopez Lara, that he must get his horse shod. "Well," replied the latter, who felt all the importance of the occasion, "I will go and get it done at Arquillos." Riego refused, and expressed a desire that his brother Mateo should undertake the commission, not by leading the horse to Arquillos, but by fetching a farrier. Lopez had only time to whisper his brother, "This man is Riego; give information to the magistrates, and say that we are prepared to do our duty." Possessed of the same intelligence as his brother, Mateo agreed upon the way in which he would act, and he promised so to manage, that Riego should be at breakfast when the armed force should surround the house. Riego, in fact, sat down to breakfast immediately on learning from Mateo that the farrier was coming forthwith; but the Englishman, constantly impressed with his fears, did not quit the window, from which, with a telescope, he kept a look-out all round. Suddenly he exclaimed, "Commandant, we are lost!—here are armed persons advancing." "Arm!" cried Riego; but that instant Lopez and Mateo seized the carbines, cocked, and levelled them at the traitors, saying, "The first who moves is a dead man!" They had already grasped their swords; but the resolution of Riego all at once forsook him. He let them tie his hands behind his back. He even said politely to Lopez, calling him *vuestra merced*—"Have the goodness to tell the men who are coming, not to hurt us, since we are your prisoners." The Alcaid entered, followed by an armed force. Riego supplicated him

in a similar manner, not to do him any harm, and, as a pledge, to embrace him. The Alcaid felt much repugnance to embrace a man who had brought so many evils upon his country; but the indulgent Lopez urged him to do so in the name of Christian charity. Riego then offered the Alcaid's men all the money he had about him, to be treated with humanity; which the Alcaid forbade any of them accepting; and addressing the prisoners, said—"Justice will decide your fate."—The civil commandant of Arquillos soon after arrived with a mounted guard, and took away the prisoners."

Riego was afterwards dragged to one of the dungeons of Madrid, where, after a mock trial, he was executed, with every mark of ignominy which the ingenuity of his implacable enemies could invent. The detail of these occurrences, however, is reserved for the concluding portion of our history.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Gallant Conduct of General Mina, in his Defence of Catalonia—The French approach to Corunna—Battle—Arrival of Sir Robert Wilson—His Address to the Militia, (*Note*)—Surrender of Corunna—The Madrid Regency—Refusal of the British to accredit a Minister to it—Sympathy and Efforts of the English to Assist the Spanish Cause—Riego's Application to Sir R. Wilson for Succours, (*Note*)—Decree of Sequestration by the Madrid Regency—Rupture between the Regency and the Duc d'Angouleme—The Duke appoints French Commanders to the Spanish Provinces—French Decree of Andujar—Resented by the Madrid Regency, who acquire the Ascendancy—Rejoicings and Disorders at Madrid.

WHILE most of the constitutional forces were entirely neutralized through the treachery of their commanders, and others rendered utterly ineffective for want of judicious combinations, the brave general Mina continued to defend Catalonia with spirit and success. By a masterly direction of his troops, he generally eluded all the endeavours of the French marshal Moncey to bring him to a general action; but on several occasions, when the defence of some important posts rendered fighting imperative, he displayed such skill and courage, as precluded the enemy from the advantages of victory. The

most important and active military warfare in the field occurred from the 17th to the 22d of August, in which there was much hard fighting, and in which the constitutional troops had the advantage. The Spanish account of this series of engagements affirms, that the enemy was repulsed and driven from their positions, with the loss of 600 killed, 900 wounded, and 170 prisoners, together with 100 mules laden with baggage. The Spanish loss is estimated at 250 killed, and 360 wounded. The fortresses of Barcelona, Tarragona, and the Seo d'Urgel, continued to resist all the attacks of the French; and from the two former places, several gallant and successful sorties were executed. Had all the Spanish generals done their duty like the brave general Mina, the task which the French had imposed upon themselves, of conquering the Peninsula, would, probably, have for ever remained unaccomplished. From the commencement of the campaign, till the fall of Cadiz, this gallant defender of his country succeeded, by his example, in infusing among his brave soldiers a spirit of relentless ardour and patriotism; and it was not until the last hope of his country's salvation was utterly extinguished, that he sheathed his sword. Nor did he finally submit to the dire necessity, without obtaining for himself and his companions in arms, honourable terms of capitulation.

In taking leave of the north-east, it will be necessary to glance at the transactions of the north-western extremity of the Peninsula. The defection of Morillo enabled the French general Bourke to advance through Galicia to the city of Corunna; before the walls of which, a severe action took place on the 15th of July, in which the Spaniards were compelled to retreat into the city, after having given the French a warm reception. Our gallant countryman, Sir Robert Wilson, was at that time in this quarter, and bore an honourable part in this battle, as well as in the subsequent defence of the place. Sir Robert received a severe wound, but it was not of so fatal a nature as to deprive the country of his valuable services.* The garrison, when attacked, consisted of about

* As soon as hostilities had commenced by France, Sir Robert Wilson made a tender of his services to the constitutional government, which were accepted; and having taken a formal leave of his Southwark

1800 men, the greatest part of them Guipuscoan and Navarrese volunteers, the regulars not amounting to more than 400 men. The other disposable force was on the side of Vigo and Orense. The French attacked with 5000 men, the whole *corps d'armée* they had in Galicia, and certainly nothing could be more cool and determined than the defence of the garrison. Colonel Zorva, commander of the Guipuscoan militia, was killed, together with several other officers of minor rank. The French were stated to have had 700 men disabled. The Spaniards, after defending the heights in front of the town, withdrew within the walls on the 16th, and in the evening of that day, a council of war was held, which was attended by all

constituents, in company with Colonel Light and Captain Erskine, the latter a grandson of Lord Erskine, he sailed from England towards the end of April. On the first of May, Sir Robert, with his gallant companions, landed at Vigo, in Galicia, where they were received with enthusiasm, and a discharge of artillery from all the ships and batteries. The two following days were occupied in testimonials of public respect for the distinguished foreigners; and on the 4th, the local national militia of Vigo were drawn out, where Sir Robert delivered the following speech, at the time of being inlisted into it, and before taking the oath of fidelity:—

“CITIZENS.—I am not in the habit of speaking the Spanish language, but it is necessary that I should make the attempt on this occasion, to express my sentiments in the best manner I am able.—I am persuaded, that you will regard the expressions of my heart, rather than well-chosen words which come merely from the lips. The moment is come in which I am to take the oath to the constitutional King of Spain, to his government, and to the Spanish nation, during the war which it has to maintain against the French government, (not against the French nation,) in defence of its independence, and of the rights of all freemen. For this I have left my country, and what is most dear to me, and suspended my duties as a member of the British parliament. Yes, my companions, we have come to combat at your side, and to shed our blood, if necessary, in defence of a common, and so noble a cause. Let us hope that our example will have some influence on the erring children, unworthy of belonging to Spain, who are waging a sacrilegious war against their mother country, to impose on her the most disgraceful chains, through the slave of slaves. All the English anticipate your hopes and sentiments. This will not be the first time of my combating on the side of the brave Spaniards. In the last war, of independence, I had, on various occasions, many thousands of them under my command; and in the field of Mars, I learnt to appreciate the rare and illustrious qualities of this invincible nation. In the war, pretended to be in favour of the inde-

the principal officers. Colonel Sevane, an officer who was enthusiastically devoted to the constitutional cause, was the first who spoke: he told the council, that national honour, as well as the most sacred of causes, required, that the garrison of Corunna should bury themselves under the ruins of the town confided to their courage, rather than surrender it to the enemy. "Let us set an example to our country," added he, "by first defending the city, and if overpowered, by withdrawing to the castle, and there resisting to the last moment." The brave Mendez Vigo, the governor of the town, seconded the motion, which was again supported by general Novella.

pendence of Europe, I gained the insignia which I wear, and which are not due to the favour of the allied sovereigns, nor a reward for servile actions; I and many others have been deceived by them, since, instead of being the liberators and protectors of European independence, they have become unjust and despotic sovereigns. I have placed my insignia over the uniform of a Spanish soldier of liberty, to shew that it is not I who have abandoned my principles; but that it is they who have violated the obligations contracted with their subjects, with their allies, and with the whole civilized world. Now, in the sacred name of my country, in the presence of God, and before those banners of liberty, I request his Excellency to receive from me and my companions the oath to defend them."

Sir Robert and the two other British officers remained at Vigo until the 8th, when they set off for Corunna, where they arrived on the 10th, and were received with every demonstration of joy. In this place he remained until every hope of preserving the fortress had disappeared, when he entered into a correspondence with general Morillo, with a view of inducing him to interpose his good offices with the French commanders, for a suspension of hostilities, in order to a pacification. All his efforts, however, proved abortive; and some time before its surrender, he left the place. Soon after this, Sir Robert made his way to Oporto, in Portugal, where the royal party having gained the ascendancy, he was, for some short time, detained in custody, and treated with rigour. The king of Portugal had also the meanness to strip Sir Robert of the honour of knighthood, which he had conferred upon him for some valuable services he had performed for the country during the Peninsular struggle with the French, alleging, for this mark of degradation, his adoption of revolutionary principles. After his enlargement, the gallant soldier continued to reside in the vicinity of Gibraltar, until the affairs of the constitutional government became hopeless, when he returned to his native country, having been unsuccessful in his exertions in a cause which he enthusiastically espoused, but without sustaining the slightest diminution in his military reputation.

The resolution of the council was unanimous. It was determined, that they should defend Corunna as long as they had powder and ball to oppose their adversaries. The Spanish patriotic general, Quiroga, had at this time a command at Corunna, who, in conjunction with Sir Robert Wilson, led on the Spaniards to the attack.

That the Spanish chiefs, now shut up within the walls of Corunna, were actuated by a noble spirit of patriotism, there is no reason to doubt; and that the little garrison was disposed to effect every object that was not placed beyond the limits of human achievement, has never been questioned: but notwithstanding the chivalrous spirit by which the officers and men were animated, it was soon apparent, that this important fortress must yield to the power of the enemy. The place was blockaded by sea, so as to render the receiving of supplies almost impracticable; Ferrol had surrendered about this time, which supplied the French with battering *materiel*; the whole of Galicia was in their hands, and not the most distant hope could be entertained of reinforcements. From the 15th of July, when the gallant action was fought before the town, to the 12th of August, the French were advancing their approaches, while the garrison was unable to offer effectual opposition. The last effort that preceded the surrender of the place, with the feeling that prevailed in the besieged and the besiegers, cannot perhaps be better described than in the despatch of general Bourke to the French minister of war, from which is subjoined the following quotation:—"In the night from the 10th to the 12th instant, (August,) the garrison of Corunna kept up a most active fire upon our troops. Fortunately they did not do us much mischief. Towards eight o'clock in the morning, a white flag was hoisted on the walls, and a flag of truce advanced with words of peace. They asserted the most lofty pretensions; they required that I should declare they had done their duty, and obeyed king Ferdinand. They were very willing to put themselves under the protection of the Duke of Angouleme, but they would not hear speak of the regency of Madrid. They wished to await, in this position, the issue of affairs at Cadiz, and the orders of the king of Spain." General Bourke goes on to say, that he had agreed to certain conferences, the result of which was,

that the garrison of Corunna placed itself under the orders of general Morillo, who engaged to stipulate for its interests. A capitulation, founded upon this basis, was signed on the 21st, when the French troops entered the city.

The whole of Galicia now fell into the hands of the enemy; the spirits of the people were broken; scarcely a single regiment remained in the field; and if we except the fortresses of Catalonia, and the stronghold of Cadiz, the whole country was brought into subjection.

While this uninterrupted success attended the French arms in every part of the kingdom, the Madrid regency governed with a rod of iron, and filled the prisons of the capital with those individuals, within their grasp, who had taken an active part in favour of the constitutional code. Immediately on its installation, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, as well as France, sent ministers to Madrid, recognizing that body as the supreme government of the country, and the accredited representative of the king. It was, of course, an important object with the regency to draw from Great Britain a similar act of recognition, though it could scarcely hope to obtain such an advantage. With this view, a letter was addressed to the English secretary for foreign affairs, dated Madrid, June 7, couched in the following terms:—

“SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to your excellency, the letter by which his serene highness, the regency of Spain and the Indies, has the honour of communicating to his Britannic Majesty its installation, which took place with the greatest solemnity in this capital, and which has been followed by the recognition of his royal highness the Duke d'Angouleme, in the name of his most Christian Majesty. His serene highness, in directing me to request that your excellency will present to his majesty, the King of Great Britain, the said letter, (of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, as likewise of the documents relative to the nomination of the regency,) has ordered me to express to you, at the same time, his anxious wish to cultivate the relations of friendship which have always subsisted between our august sovereigns. I shall feel happy in contributing to fulfil the wishes of his serene highness in this respect; and, in the mean time, I have the honour to assure your excellency of the high consideration with which, &c.

VICTOR SAEZ.”

To this communication, Mr. Canning replied in a tenor correspondent with British dignity, and consistent with that line of policy which had uniformly marked the conduct of our cabinet, as follows:—

"SIR.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which your excellency did me the honour to address to me on the 7th instant, announcing the installation of a new regency at Madrid; and enclosing a letter, addressed (as you inform me) by that body to the king, my master. The regency of Urgel, some months ago, and more recently that which was instituted after the entrance of the French army into Spain, successively addressed letters to me, announcing, in like manner, their assumption respectively of the government of Spain. To neither of these communications has it been thought necessary to return any answer; and if I now deviate from the course pursued in those two instances, it is only because I would not appear to be guilty of incivility in sending back your messenger without a written acknowledgment of the receipt of your letter. I have, however, nothing to add to that acknowledgment. The king, my master, having a minister resident near the person of his Catholic majesty, cannot receive a communication of this description; and it is, therefore, not consistent with my duty, to lay before the king the letter addressed to his majesty, which I have the honour herewith to return.—I have the honour, &c.

"GEORGE CANNING."

The course which the British government prescribed to itself, of preserving a strict neutrality, and thereby perpetuating the blessings of peace, did not allow it to favour, by overt acts, the cause of the constitutionalists, however much it might wish for its success; but the refusal to acknowledge the new regency, was a decisive indication of its unwillingness to aid, by its sanction, the despotism which was preparing for the Spanish people. The feeling also of the English public was strongly in favour of the depressed Spaniards; and in their individual capacity, they had an opportunity of aiding their efforts, without incurring the charge of *national* interference. A public meeting was held in London, and a subscription entered into, for the purchase of arms and ammunition, of which the Spanish patriots were in great want.* It is worthy of record, as an act of princely munificence, that Mr. Lambton aided this subscription by a gift of *one thousand pounds*. With a part of this money the committee purchased

* The following letter, written by the unfortunate Riego to Sir Robert Wilson, at the moment he had disembarked at Malaga, portrays the state of misery and distress to which the Spanish troops were reduced; and shews with what an undaunted spirit Riego stepped forward, under such perilous circumstances, to throw the last stake, his life, to save the expiring cause of liberty:—

about 5000 stand of arms, a quantity of stores, and some provisions, which were sent to Corunna a short time before its capitulation; as well as to other blockaded ports on the northern coast of the Peninsula. A cargo of powder, arms, and clothing, under the charge of an enterprising Englishman, was also safely conducted through the French fleet before Cadiz, and, by direction of Sir Robert Wilson, given to the Spanish constitutional authorities at the moment of their greatest necessity. The better to superintend the transmittal of these valuable supplies, which had been confided by the Spanish committee to our gallant countrymen, for their appropriate distribution, Sir Robert Wilson, as before observed, had stationed himself in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar.

But to return again to the political transactions of the government at Madrid. As soon as the Madrid regency were made acquainted with the decree of the cortes at Seville, which suspended the royal authority, and enacted a regency, they immediately issued a proclamation, filled with the most bitter anathemas against the cortes; affecting to believe, and in that

"TO GENERAL WILSON.

"Illustrious Patriot, my companion and friend!—The sad situation to which foreign and domestic treachery has reduced my country, obliges me, at this crisis, to direct my voice to you in her name, to excite your ardent patriotism in favour of the brave troops serving under my orders. The circumstances and unfortunate incidents which have occurred in this part of the Peninsula, have reduced me to a circumscribed limit, and I stand in need of the assistance of all the free and generous, to be enabled to extricate myself from the misery which surrounds me, and be useful to my country, and the most holy cause of the liberty of the people. In consequence, I have the honour to transmit to you this letter, to beg of you, with all the sincerity of a liberal mind, to interpose your mediation and influence with your fellow-countrymen, that they may obtain, and send me, with all possible expedition, all the money and stores their generous efforts may be enabled to procure, for the relief of the extreme distress under which this army labours; deprived of almost every thing necessary for its subsistence. My gratitude, and that of my country, is the remuneration I offer you, in return for the benefits which I undoubtedly expect to receive from you, and your illustrious and generous countrymen.

"I take advantage of this opportunity to offer my best services, of which I beg you would dispose most frankly and fully, commanding as you please your sincere and affectionate friend, companion, and servant,

"Malaga, August 20."

"RAFAEL DEL RIEGO."

light representing it, that the king had been formally deposed. In this document, which is dated the 22d of June, they say:—"You know it, our legitimate and adored sovereign has been deprived of the throne of his fathers. So horrible a crime has been committed, to avenge the heroic answer of the monarch to the proposal to remove him to Cadiz—an answer, the words of which ought to be written on marble and brass. They will be the finest ornament of history for many ages, and they will always be engraved on the hearts of all Spaniards. The regency of the kingdom, confounded, it is true, by so great a crime, will not neglect to take, and it has taken, firm and energetic measures to punish its authors, and to remedy the evils caused by the implacable enemies of God and of the monarch. You will co-operate in so just an object, by confiding in your government, which will unremittingly pursue those whose infernal rage has filled our hearts with mourning." To this proclamation was appended a decree, which went, as far at least as the power of the regency, to carry into effect all their denunciations. The following are some of the principal articles:—"An accurate list shall be made out, of the members of the present cortes, of the members of the pretended regency elected at Seville, and of the ministers, and officers of the volunteer militia of Madrid and Seville, who ordained the removal of the king from Seville to Cadiz, and who supplied the means to carry it into effect. The personal property of the individuals inscribed on the said list shall be forthwith sequestered. The members of the cortes who have adhered to the deliberation, pronouncing the deposition of the king, are, by this fact alone, declared guilty of high treason, and the punishment adjudged by the laws, against this crime, shall be enforced towards them, on simple proof of identity. Those who shall effectually contribute to the deliverance of the king, shall be exempted from the above enactments, and they shall, besides, be suitably and honourably recompensed. The generals and officers of the troops of the line and militia, who have attended the king to Cadiz, are declared personally responsible for the lives of their majesties and royal highnesses, and they are liable to be cited before a council of war, and tried as accomplices in any violence done to the members of the royal family, and which it was in their power to prevent."

The constitutional government, on being made acquainted with this decree of proscription and sequestration, issued one similar in its tendency, directed against the anti-constitutional grandees, who had formally declared their submission and adhesion to the Madrid regency. This document was sanctioned by the signature of Ferdinand, bears the date of the 13th of July, and contains, among other denunciations and penalties, the following :—"Those men are unworthy the name of Spaniards, are traitors to their country and their king, and shall be held and treated as such, who voluntarily signed the address to the Duke d'Angouleme, commander-in-chief of the enemy's army, and which has been published as having been presented by the grandees of Spain. It being understood, that the said address was signed voluntarily, all the thirty-one individuals who seem to have subscribed it, and who have not hitherto denied so doing, since they have given no proof of not having actually signed it, or taken part in it, or that they were included in any of the exceptions of article 21st of the penal code, shall be brought to trial when apprehended. I hereby declare, that the thirty-one individuals above-mentioned, do not form the whole of the grandees of Spain, nor even the majority of that class; neither do they possess, or ever have possessed, any title or character to represent it. Consequently the above-mentioned address is, and ought to be, considered merely as the private act of those by whom it was performed. The thirty-one persons, who signed the said address, are henceforward deprived of all their titles, honours, decorations, ranks, employments, offices, emoluments, pensions, incomes, prerogatives, and distinctions, depending on the supreme civil power of Spain. The titles, decorations, offices, pensions, personal distinctions, or honours, which those individuals may have obtained from me, or my august predecessors, are henceforward extinct, as though they had never existed. The property of every kind whatever, belonging to these persons, shall be also immediately sequestered, and after satisfying the lawful claims that may be made upon it, shall be appropriated to the national treasury."

From the general character of the two last-mentioned documents, it became clear, that the breach between the Madrid and Cadiz governments had reached such an extent, as to pre-

clude all hope of reconciliation or compromise. The bitterest enmities, strongly excited by opposite views, prejudices, and interests, existed between them; and it was apparent, that nothing could satisfy either, but the entire subjugation of one of them. Sustained by the power and presence of the French army, the Madrid regency possessed a tremendous ascendancy over their political opponents, and were heartily disposed to carry their personal vengeance to the utmost bounds. The French commander, however strongly he felt disposed to promote the royal cause, strenuously opposed the measures of retaliation and cruelty which they were pursuing; and the misunderstanding between the Duke and the regency proceeded so far, as to threaten an open rupture.

The head-quarters of the French had continued at Madrid up to the 24th of July, when the Duke d'Angouleme notified his intention of transferring them to Andalusia, in order to press the siege of Cadiz, in the defence of which the hopes of the constitutionalists rested. When this purpose was decided upon, the regency urged the propriety of some accredited agents of their nomination accompanying the Duke; and they pressed this measure by arguments deduced from their sovereign authority. To this proposition the commander-in-chief peremptorily objected; and at length the regency, reluctantly and with a bad grace, receded from their pretensions.—His royal highness, at this period, seemed not only determined to share with them in the supreme government, but to act independent of their authority. Accordingly, immediately before he left the capital, he issued a general order, distributing the military command to his own officers, throughout Spain, as follows:—Marshal Oudinot, at Madrid, to command New Castile, Estremadura, Segovia, Leon, Salamanca, Valladolid, Galicia, and the Asturias.—Prince Hohenlohe, at Vittoria, to command Sant Andero, Burgos, Santo Domingo, Alava, and Biscay.—Marshal Lauriston, at Tolosa, to command Guipuscoa, Navarre, Arragon, and the Lower Ebro.—Count Molitor, to command Valencia, Murcia, and Grenada.—Viscount Foissac Latour, to command Cordova and Jaen, with a column of observation.—Count Bourdesoult, at Puerta de Santa Maria, to command Seville, and the operations before Cadiz. This general order concluded in these terms:—"The present general order shall

he communicated to the serene regency of the kingdom of Spain, in order that their highnesses may issue the necessary orders, directing the captains-general commanders of the provinces, and of the troops of his Catholic Majesty, to put themselves, agreeably to the above regulations, in the proper relations with the marshals and generals having superior command."

The manner of this order is at once conclusive, that the Duke paid but little deference to the regency. Were it otherwise, it might naturally have been expected, that such a regulation would have been made to appear as if emanating from their joint councils; whereas it came forth as the insulated act of the French commander-in-chief, and the regency were merely to be informed of it, that they might adopt the necessary measures for its being carried into due execution. Another, and a still more evident proof of the dissatisfaction of his royal highness, is to be found in a document which he issued on the 8th of August, at Andujar, while on the march to Cadiz, and the reason of which was, the tyrannical proceedings of the ultra-government, who, by the violence of their persecution, were likely to create a reaction against the restoration of the royal authority. This document was thus couched:—"Considering that the occupation of Spain by the army under our command, places us under the indispensable obligation of watching over the tranquillity of that kingdom, and the security of our troops, we have commanded, and do command, as follows:—1. The Spanish authorities shall not make any prisoners, without authority from the French commanders of our troops.—2. The commanders-in-chief of the corps under our command, shall demand the release of all prisoners who may have been imprisoned in an arbitrary manner, for political motives, especially soldiers, that they may return to their homes, excepting such as, after liberation, shall give cause of complaint.—3. The commanders-in-chief of the corps are authorized to seize all such persons as shall disobey the present orders.—4. All publishers and periodical writings shall be under the direction of the commanders of our troops.—5. The present decree shall be printed, and be made generally known."

By this decree, the whole power of the Madrid regency

was overthrown, inasmuch as it interdicted that body and its agents from wielding any longer the only power which they ever thought of exercising since their installation—that of revengeful imprisonment. It may also have been promulgated with a view to gain the confidence of the cortes, and of the Spanish officers yet remaining faithful. Whatever other effect the decree of the French commander produced, it tended to give the most violent umbrage to the regency, which zealously employed itself in thwarting the views of the French, and in endeavours to extend its vengeance against all who were any way obnoxious to it. Only about one hundred persons were set at liberty at Madrid, in consequence of the Andujar decree, against which, on the 15th of August, the regency addressed the following remonstrance to the Duke of Reggio. —“Your excellency,—The regency of the kingdom has been officially informed, that, last night, three French officers presented themselves at the city-prison, with several gens-d’armes, and that they have set at liberty twenty-two Spaniards, detained under the authority of the laws. The regency has learned with surprise, an event which attacks the sovereignty of the king, in whose name it governs; and not being able to endure this encroachment upon its dignity, it protests in the face of Europe, whose assistance it implores, against the violence of this act. Upon hearing of this proceeding, the regents of the kingdom would have been glad if it had had the power to abandon the reins of government; but reflecting on the situation of the sovereign, the necessity of preserving union between the two nations, and of maintaining public order in the interior, it felt the duty of continuing its functions, in spite of the outrage offered to the authority with which it is invested. The regency of the kingdom orders me to address this protest to your excellency, in reply to the official communication which it has received.—I have the honour to be, &c.”

It could hardly be expected, that the Duke d’Angouleme would descend from that high tone he had assumed, in the appointment of commanders in the provinces, and in his authorizing French officers to supersede the acts of the regency, particularly as he must know how absolutely dependent the royalists were on his military operations. But the fact

proved, that either from his own moderated views, or, which is more probable, from instructions received from the French cabinet, the remonstrance of the regents produced all the results which they could have desired. The Duke explained away the objectionable parts of his decree; and the regency, inflated with what it deemed a signal victory, plied with increasing activity its weapons of persecution against the adherents of the Constitution. The decrees issued from this ultra-assembly, went to nullify the treaties between the French and the constitutional chiefs; all the purchasers of national domains were turned out of their property; the priests and monks every where incited the dregs of the people against the constitutionalists; and measures of imprisonment and violence were prosecuted with the utmost rigour.

About this time an occurrence also took place in Madrid, which strongly manifested the disposition of the ruling party to employ their ascendancy to purposes of tyrannical rule. It appears, that the cortes, on the approach of the Duke d'Angouleme towards Cadiz, had greatly relaxed their measures of vigilance and precaution towards the king, who was publicly permitted to shew himself to the people, and to go at large about the city. Intelligence of this circumstance having been generally circulated in the French camp before Cadiz, accompanied with rumours that the cortes had dissolved themselves, after decreeing the liberation of Ferdinand, the truth of one fact, with the false surmises of the other, were rapidly spread abroad, and received with equal credit; and in such a demi-official shape did the news arrive in the capital, that the members of the regency participated in the delusion, and issued an order that public rejoicings were to be celebrated. Accordingly, during the night of the 10th, a general illumination took place, while the royalists of all classes paraded the streets, with frightful acclamations, and other menacing demonstrations. They brandished great clubs, and attacked all unfortunate persons whom they chose to designate as Liberals. After continuing this conduct till the night was pretty far advanced, the word was given to attack the houses of the constitutionalists. The pillage commenced, being rendered more easy by the illumination; and from pillage the mob proceeded to massacre. No less than eighteen or twenty persons fell victims to

the infatuated and unrestrained fury of the partisans of royalty. The populace remained, in fact, for some hours masters of the city; for the regency gave no commands, and the inferior authorities exerted no influence to stop their excesses. They were, at length, only checked by the exertions of the small body of French troops remaining in garrison at Madrid, to whose interference is alone to be ascribed the suppression of a commotion which threatened the most disastrous consequences. It was not until the following day, that the regency became acquainted with the non-existence of the events which they had been celebrating with such savage and brutal hilarity. From this specimen of tyrannical ferocity, it might be calculated, on what a model the government would be conducted, when the royal party obtained the entire direction of national affairs.

CHAPTER XIX.

Cadiz: Its scanty Means of Defence, in comparison of its former Resources—Arrival of the Duke d'Angouleme before the place—Failure of Negotiations for a Surrender—Taking of the Trocadero—Correspondence between the King and the Duke d'Angouleme (*Note*)—Sittings of the Cortes on the 6th, 9th, and 18th September—Failure of the Bombardment by the French Fleet—Dismal Report of the Commander-in-Chief to the Government, on the Difficulty of defending Cadiz—Last Sitting of the Cortes, on the 27th—Unfavourable Report of the Ministry to the Cortes—Apology for the Cortes—Causes which hastened the Surrender—The King allowed to leave Cadiz—Promises a Free Government—His Arrival at Port St. Mary's—Breach of Faith—Oppressive Decrees—Arrival at Madrid—Tyranny of the Government—Death of Riego, &c. &c.—Concluding Reflections.

THE thread of our history now leads us to the important fortress of Cadiz, where it was evident the invading army must either meet an effectual repulse, or complete the conquest of the kingdom. Every thing that could be accomplished from the zeal of a small garrison, and the natural strength of the place, was calculated upon. But those who inferred a successful resistance, from the circumstance of the Spaniards having been able to repel the powerful attacks of the French,

under marshal Soult, in the former bombardment, seemed to overlook several material comparative disadvantages under which the garrison now laboured. On the former occasion, the Island of Leon was defended by a brave army of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, among whom were a good portion of British; whereas the troops, in the present defence, could not be reckoned at more than half that number. In the former instance, the military and the inhabitants were undivided in their sentiments, and in their zeal to resist a foreign despotism; while in the present, the disasters that had befallen the national armies, the conflicting sentiments respecting the Constitution, and a natural sympathy excited in favour of the royal family, whom imperious necessity obliged the cortes to keep in a state of seeming captivity, together with the efforts of the priesthood to excite prejudice against the present order of things,—all operated to create dissensions and jealousies within the island. And, besides all this, at the former period, the British fleet, which surrounded the harbour with fifty ships of the line, was not only not opposed to the besieged, but afforded to them every facility of defence; but now, the place was blockaded by an hostile armament, sedulously employed in intercepting their supplies, and annoying their preparations for defence.

On the 16th of August, the Duke d'Angouleme, after an uninterrupted march from Madrid, arrived at Port St. Mary's, in front of the Isla, to take upon himself the direction of the siege of Cadiz. Immense preparations had been made for the bombardment; but a general opinion prevailed, that an attempt would be made, by his royal highness, to induce the cortes to surrender by capitulation. This presumption was not altogether unfounded; for on the 17th, the commander-in-chief despatched a letter to the king of Spain, stating, that the country was delivered from the revolutionary yoke, and recommending the convocation of the ancient cortes. To this communication, an answer was returned under the king's signature, which left, however, no reason to hope that the government of Cadiz was any way disposed to submit to terms dictated by the besieging army. On the subject of the Duke d'Angouleme's letter to the king, the constitutional government also addressed a spirited representation to Sir William

A'Court, appealing to the British government against its demands; but to this no other answer was returned, than that he, not being in possession of the sentiments of his court in the present altered state of affairs, could not make any definite reply. The diplomatic correspondence having here closed for the present, the besiegers applied themselves to measures of annoyance, while the garrison of Cadiz betook themselves to defensive operations.

By the 23d of August, the French works before the Trocadero, an important post which defended the Isle of Leon, were in a state of forwardness, and an attack on that point was decided upon. On the 31st, the assault was made, which proved entirely advantageous to the assailants. This acquisition on the part of the French, was of immense importance, as it materially facilitated their approaches to Cadiz; while the constitutionalists sustained a most severe loss in their best artillerymen, all of whom were killed at the guns. The results, according to the French accounts, were, "the taking possession of the Trocadero and Fort St. Louis, the carrying of the lines of intrenchment and all the batteries, where we found fifty-three pieces of artillery, brass and iron, with their appointments; from a thousand to eleven hundred prisoners, including forty officers, among whom was the colonel-commandant of the Trocadero, named Garcia; about 120 killed, and from 250 to 300 wounded, besides a great quantity of powder, ammunition, and muskets, collected on the field of battle. A great many men were lost in the marshes; two or three hundred, at the most, saved themselves in boats, the greater part of whom were said to be wounded. Thus the 1700 men, who composed the garrison of Trocadero, were almost destroyed in this affair."

To this was soon after added, the loss of the castle of Santi Petri, a position deemed of essential importance to the defence of Cadiz.—The ministers of Ferdinand now seemed sensible of the precarious tenure by which they held their authority, without, however, betraying a pusillanimity unworthy of their station. At their suggestion, the king of Spain addressed a letter to the Duke d'Angouleme, with a view of obtaining for the nation a termination of hostilities, and the establishment of a system of government that should meet the reason-

able expectations of the nation. This letter gave rise to a correspondence between his majesty and the French commander-in-chief, which ended without at all furthering the original intention.*

On the 6th, 9th, and 18th of September, communications from the government were laid before the cortes for their consideration, when the gloomy state of the national affairs was fully developed. The failure of all hopes from the interference of England—the deficiency of means adequate to the present emergencies—the humiliating ultimatum of the enemy in his terms of accommodation—were the melancholy subjects on which they were called together to deliberate, and which, though they served to elicit sentiments of the noblest patriotism, yet it was evident, that all rational hopes of a successful opposition to the invaders were nearly extinct—and that de-

* Ferdinand, (or rather his constitutional ministers,) in order to meet the requirements of the Duke d'Angouleme, proposed a personal interview with his "dear Brother and Cousin" in the following terms:—"Since your royal highness refuses to treat with any one except myself, alone and free, I am ready to treat, our two selves alone, and at free liberty, either on any spot, at an equalled and proportionate distance from the two armies, and with all suitable and reciprocal securities, or on board of any neutral vessel, under the faith of its flag."—The Duke d'Angouleme, however, positively declined any such conference: "I shall not," says he, "consider your majesty and your august family at liberty till they are in the midst of my troops:"—and this determination is again repeated in the proposals made by generals Bourdesoult and Guilleminot, whom the Duke appointed to treat with the Spanish general Alava, on the means for terminating the war:—"I can treat of nothing," says he, "until the king is free. Let the king and royal family repair either to Chiclana or Port St. Mary's, as his majesty chooses. I will use the whole of my influence with his majesty, in order that he may promise and grant, of his own free will, such institutions as he shall judge to be suitable to the happiness, wants, and tranquillity of his people; and in order that he may announce that he forgets the past. All those who wish to leave Spain, may withdraw wherever they think proper; and in consequence thereof, orders shall be given to the admiral. A French division shall enter Cadiz, for the purpose of maintaining order there, preventing re-actions, and protecting every one."—The last part of the paragraph was modified in the following manner: "The French troops shall occupy La Isle de Leon, as far as, and including, the Cortadura and Fort Puntales. The ground between these two points and the town shall be neutral. The armistice with the town shall be for two months. The commercial relations shall be re-established."

spair had commenced its enervating influence even in the minds of the political leaders of the people.—A circumstance, however, occurred soon after, which, had it happened in an earlier stage of the contest, and before affairs had become desperate, might have given a beneficial impulse to the national spirit.

On the 23d, the French squadron stood in, to attack Cadiz, sending a-head a sloop which threw twelve-pound bombs, eleven tartans and bomb vessels which fired two-pound grenades, and thirteen gun-boats carrying thirty-six-pounders. They had in reserve twenty other armed vessels to support the combat, and their whole fleet, with troops for disembarkation, was in motion. It is impossible to describe the valour and enthusiasm (say the authors of this account) which were, on this occasion, displayed by the garrison, the national militia, and the people of Cadiz. In the batteries most exposed to the enemy's fire, it was necessary to dismiss the peasants, who crowded to work the artillery, or to perform any services to which they could be applied, because the number thus collected embarrassed the operations. The heavy fire which the enemy kept up, during three hours and a half, only served to prove their efforts were at that time made in vain, and to demonstrate what men are capable of performing when they fight in the cause of freedom. The enemy was compelled to abandon his enterprise, with the loss of three large and three small-boats; and of the whole of his flotilla, including the reserve, there remained only eleven vessels in a serviceable condition; eight were obliged to be towed into port. The inhabitants of Cadiz manifested the purest joy; they mutually acknowledged each other to be worthy of the holy cause they were defending; all acquired new courage to oppose the besiegers whenever it might be necessary. All promised themselves a happy result, and trusted they would, by their firmness, subdue the French; more particularly when, after the disgraceful loss of the point of Santi Petri, they daily beheld boats entering, laden not only with necessary provisions, but also with fruits and articles of luxury, of which there was always abundance. Who could have believed that, after a lapse of eight days, without any renewal of hostilities, all those well-founded hopes were to vanish?

Some generals and ministers, who had been constantly declaring that the defence was impossible, as if apprehending the failure of their prophecies, when they saw that the bombardment, far from intimidating the defenders of Cadiz, served only to inflame their courage, insisted the more urgently on the impossibility of maintaining resistance, and, by their language and conduct, induced some corps of the army to consider themselves as sold, and to fail in their discipline. Thereupon the general-in-chief addressed to the ministry a despatch, in which the following dismal picture of their circumstances is exhibited :—

“EXCELLENT SENOR,—The fatal and unexpected loss of the castle of Santi Petri, has placed in the hands of the enemy, who was previously master of the waters, the true key of our position, whether we consider solely the military relations, or the state of almost absolute want of communication in which we are placed. The probabilities favourable to the defence have diminished infinitely. The equilibrium of force has been lost on our side.”...After complaining of the deficiency of military material, and want of funds, the despatch proceeds:—“There was, too, another cause still more powerful, as it attacked the basis of all our ideas of resistance. Whether it was that the reverses and defections which rapidly succeeded each other of late, had influenced the minds of the troops, or that the bribery and gold of our enemies had corrupted them, it is certain that their discipline and subordination began to waver and lose ground, and a pernicious spirit was seen to spread among the most confidential corps. Their enthusiasm was succeeded by a deplorable want of energy, a clear and decided cowardice, to the eternal disgrace of our military glory, of which we have just had such lamentable proofs. These, excellent Sir, are the elements which I hold at my disposal, to sustain the Isle of Cadiz, the depository of the government and of the sacred person of the king, the asylum of so many well-deserving citizens compromised in the cause of liberty, and the centre of the hopes of the rest of the country.”...Under these circumstances, and considering their line too extended for any chance of successful defence, and recommending a concentration of their operations, the general-in-chief says,—“Nothing would be more advantageous, under our present unfortunate circumstances, than to confine our radius of defence to the country between Cadiz and the Cortadura, abandoning consequently this extended line, which it is impossible to cover by the small number of troops which are still to be depended upon. Though this vigorous operation will permit the enemy to extend the line of his forces, it will afford an opportunity for the wisdom of government to find the means of saving the state from the ominous laws which open force is accustomed to dictate. This operation, executed in time and with tranquillity, would enable us to remove articles, and means necessary for our object. and to

render useless those which we might not be able to bring away. In like manner it would afford an opportunity for providing for the safety of this well-deserving population, by supplying the besieging army with the necessary steps for establishing an armistice, which, in every way, it would be of the greatest interest to us to obtain through the medium of the government.".....

On the 25th, the government again convoked the extraordinary cortes, when the report of the commander-in-chief was laid before them; and on the following day the ministry also presented the opinion—that “without relaxing the efforts recommended by the general-in-chief, for the public safety, the government is of opinion, and proposes to the extraordinary cortes, that in the exigency of present circumstances, the safety of the state requires, that his majesty should adopt, in his own case, as he may deem it most suitable, (turning it especially to the best possible account in favour of the nation, the inhabitants, and defenders of this island,) the condition which the enemy proposes as a *sine qua non*, and on which the cortes are at present engaged—to wit, that the king, with the royal family, should quit the isle of Cadiz, and transport himself to the point which may seem best to him.”

The cortes immediately appointed a committee of its own members, to examine the proposition contained in this communication of the government; and on the 27th, when the *last* sitting of the cortes was held, that committee presented *two* reports, the one signed by the majority, and the other by the minority. Of these the following are copies:

Report of the Majority.—“Having examined the foregoing proposition and communication of the government, the committee is of opinion, that it is only when compelled by force, and the imperious law of necessity, that the government should act according to the exigency of the circumstances; taking care, at the same time, to preserve the honour of the nation, and its rights; the cortes directly protesting against whatever may be done, in virtue of that force and necessity, to the prejudice of those rights. The cortes will, doubtless, determine what is best to be done.”

Report of the Minority.—“Those whose names are hereunto signed, are of opinion, that if the purposes for which the government requires the sanction of the cortes, are within the constitutional limits, the king does not require it; for by the

third power, vested in him by the 171st article, it belongs to him, exclusively, to make and ratify peace solely, with the opinion of the council of state, as required by the 236th article of the Constitution, and that, consequently, there is no occasion for any deliberation on the subject. As little is it necessary, if those purposes exceed the said limits, as the cortes cannot give what they do not possess. It is the opinion, therefore, of those whose names are hereto signed, that the only thing which the cortes can do, in the critical situation in which they are placed, is, to preserve the rights of the nation, by protesting against force, in the event of extreme necessity, wresting from the government concessions contrary to those rights."

The first report being put to the vote, as the regulations required, it was approved by 70 votes,—against 34, who inclined in preference to the report of the minority.

From that period the cortes did not, and could not, hold another sitting, because the government did not convoke them for that purpose; but the deputies remained in Cadiz, until, on the first of October, they learned, without any preliminary information, that the king had embarked for Puerto Santa Maria, and they were thus left only to deplore the misfortunes of their country.

In refuting the charges of those who blame the cortes for not punishing the generals and ministers, and assuming to themselves the direction of the defence, the memoir from which we quote observes, that the Spanish Constitution did not authorize the cortes to extend its powers to such objects, and that the powers of the extraordinary cortes were reduced merely to pronouncing "yes," or "no," on the propositions submitted by the ministry in the king's name. In answer to the question, why they did not assume the power which they did not possess, it is answered, that, to enable the cortes to exceed their powers, a new revolution would have been necessary; that their representative character would then have possessed no weight; that with any authority they might have possessed, they could not have relied on success; and that then they might, with justice, have been severely blamed for having overstepped their powers.

Whatever degree of blame may be ascribed to the con,

stitutional government, it seems more correctly to attach to it in the earlier part of the struggle, than to the period of its extremity. The situation of the government was appalling in the extreme. Two millions of reals, drawn on Machada, was exhausted, the bills of which were returned protested: the national treasury did not contain a dollar, for the seven millions of reals, which the inhabitants of Cadiz contributed monthly, did not suffice to pay the soldiers, and much less to cover the other contingent expenses; and to these causes of embarrassment was added, the information that no loan could be effected, on the credit of the state, in London. Besides, for a length of time, the troops in the Isla, worn out with constant anxiety and hard duty, ill-fed, miserably destitute of clothing, and hopeless of exterior aid, had declined into despondency, as their situation advanced in its pressure. Many of the most mercenary and unprincipled resolved to join with the enemy, rather than continue the defence. Numbers continually stole out of the Isla, in frequent desertion, and laid the foundation of a conspiracy to betray it to the enemy. This bad spirit was much aided by French gold.

On the 24th of September, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered in the regiment of St. Martial. Several individuals of the regiment had frequently passed the river, communicated intelligence to the French, and brought back sums of money, to distribute among the disaffected. The cannoneers of Erutia had also established signals with the opposite batteries of the enemy, and agreed to favour their passing the river, and to give up to them the batteries, on the night of the day before mentioned. Their premature demonstration of disaffection betrayed the plot, and saved the Isla. During the greater part of the evening of the 24th, they began to cry, "*Viva el Rey!*" "*Muerte a la Constitucion!*" and intelligence of this spirit being communicated to the general-in-chief, the rest of the troops were put under arms, the disaffected posts were surrounded, the regiment broken into small parties, or scattered through the army, and seven of the ringleaders shot at day-break on the 25th. The intended attack was frustrated, but the evil was not subdued; and it was shortly ascertained by the general-in-chief, that seven battalions were deeply implicated in the treason. It was in consequence of this alarm-

ing discovery, that the general made his report to the government on the danger of continuing the contest, which is given above.

It was under these pressing circumstances that the ministry proposed, and the cortes acceded, to his majesty's leaving the island; the latter engaging to use his utmost endeavours to procure the best possible terms for the besieged, from the French commander. The king also promised, in a solemn manifesto, to retain every one in his rank and situation; not to persecute any individual for his political opinions; and if he found himself compelled to make alterations in the existing system, he pledged himself in favour of personal security, as well as of property, civil freedom, and the acknowledgment of the public debt; adding an assurance, that passports should be given to all persons desirous of leaving the kingdom. Notwithstanding these specious engagements, they were naturally looked upon as hollow and suspicious; but they were all that the public functionaries could elicit, having no other guarantee than the word of a man who had often forfeited every pretension to veracity and honour.

In this state of public suspense and anxiety came the morning of the first of October, the day on which the departure of the king was fixed. At eight o'clock the king's baggage was prepared for embarkation, and the boatmen began to make ready the royal barge, destined to convey him to Port St. Mary's, and the attendant boats, which were to transport his suite. Aware of the state of the public mind, every precaution was taken to prevent any tumult or opposition to the king's departure. At nine o'clock all the troops were under arms. Two battalions lined the ramparts, from the extremity of the Alameda to the Puerto del Mer. But few spectators assembled to witness the departure of the royal family. At ten o'clock, a universal discharge of cannon, from the ramparts, announced the moment of the king's leaving the palace. Ferdinand and the queen appeared arm-in-arm; the former wore the uniform of a general officer, with the broad riband of the grand cross of Charles III. The queen was very plainly dressed. None of the party looked either to the right or left. In a few minutes the king and queen were embarked, and the royal barge was pushed off from the pier.

The boats, with the royal suite, to the number of seven, followed at regular intervals of about 100 fathoms, forming a long line, distinguishable from the rest of the vessels in the bay. The wind being fair, the boats rapidly receded, and in about three quarters of an hour, successive volumes of smoke from Port St. Mary's, announced the disembarkation of the king. At the steps of the landing-place, his majesty was received by the Duke d'Angouleme, who assisted him with his hand in coming on shore, and bore up one corner of the silken canopy, under which Ferdinand was conducted to the apartment assigned him.

From the very moment of Ferdinand's secure lodgment within the French camp, he betrayed the native disposition of his heart to a total disregard of his solemn engagements. On the first of October, the day following his liberation, having appointed the monk Saez, his confessor, to the situation of prime minister, he published a proclamation, in which he denounced the Constitution as a code of anarchy, and its authors as rebels; concluding with a decree in the following terms:—"All the acts of the government called Constitutional, of whatever kind and description they may be, a system which oppressed my people from the 7th of March, 1820, until the first of October, 1823, are declared null and void; declaring, as I now declare, that during the whole of that period I have been deprived of my liberty, obliged to sanction laws, and authorize orders, decrees, and regulations, which the same government had framed and executed against my will. I approve of every thing which has been decreed and ordered by the provisional junta of government, and by the regency, in the present year."

Another decree of the king, issued on the 4th, at Xeres, is still more pointed against the constitutionalists, and pretty strongly marks the course which his majesty intended to pursue in the future government of the country:—"His majesty orders, that during his journey to his capital, no individual, who, during the constitutional system, was a deputy of the cortes of the two last legislatures, shall appear within five leagues of the road. The same order is to be observed by the ex-ministers, counsellors of state, the ex-ministers of the tribunals of supreme justice, the ex-general commanders, the

political chiefs, the chiefs and officers of the former militia and national volunteers, all of whom his majesty forbids, for ever, to enter his capital, or his royal residence, which they must not approach within fifteen leagues."

A third decree was published by Ferdinand, at Seville, while yet on his way to Madrid, which breathed the same spirit of relentless fury against all who had supported the former government; while on the 5th, the Spanish regency addressed a proclamation to the nation, in which the most fulsome adulation was bestowed on those who had been employed in what was termed the good work of liberation, and especially towards the unworthy object of their idolatry. His majesty reached Madrid about the middle of November, where he resumed and exercised his sway in all the plenitude of despotic authority.

Previous to the arrival of the king in the capital, the provisional government had been actively employed, and with a spirit characteristic of its violence, in bringing to trial and execution, General Riego. The arrest and imprisonment of this distinguished individual, has already been noticed; and the part he had acted, in bringing about the constitutional government, rendered him an object of such importance to the *Serviles*, as to leave but little hope that he would be suffered to escape their vindictive rage. It does not appear, that any specific charge, beyond that of having contributed to establish and consolidate the liberties of his country, was exhibited against him. But in the view of those who had him in custody, this was deemed sufficiently criminal to subject him to an ignominious death; and, accordingly, sentence was pronounced against him, and on the 7th of November he was brought to execution. His last melancholy request, to die the death of a soldier, was denied him; and he was consigned to the scaffold. The prisoner had been placed, as usual, in a chamber where there is a table, with a crucifix. It was there he passed the time preceding his execution, to which he was conducted, or rather dragged, on a hurdle drawn by an ass. It was with great difficulty he ascended the ladder to the very lofty gibbet which had been erected; so feeble was he, in consequence of the fetters with which he had been loaded from the time of his arrest. He died with great resignation and

courage. As soon as the executioner made a signal that he was dead, the most brutal shouts and hurrahs arose from all quarters, even from the balconies, in which were placed numerous groups of priests and monks. That part of the sentence which decreed that the body of Riego should be divided into five parts, was not carried into effect; a remission which, we are forced to believe, arose rather from an apprehension of exciting a feeling of regard to the cause for which he died, than from the impulse of humanity. The general had a youthful wife, with whom he had been united about two years, and a brother who is an ecclesiastic, resident in England. These individuals joined in a petition to the French king, imploring his interposition with the Spanish authorities to spare his life; but the fatal news of his death reached this country before the moving appeal could be conveyed to Paris.—The two interesting exiles, however, have received, from the generosity of a British public, all the succour and support which their sorrows and misfortunes admitted, and which their unhappy circumstances required.

The day after the king left Cadiz, the principal posts in the Isle of Leon were occupied by the French army; and the constitutional forces were disarmed, and subsequently disbanded. Most of the ex-ministers, generals, deputies of the cortes, and other persons of distinction, who were in the city at the time of its surrender, sought their safety in flight; in which every facility appears to have been afforded by the commanders of the French army and navy. Gibraltar in the first instance, and ultimately England, became the friendly asylum of these destitute refugees, who thus expatriated themselves from their country, to escape a severer fate that awaited them, had they longer remained in it. Our country, however, is not less distinguished by its generosity than by its wealth and greatness:—a national subscription has already been set on foot for the exiled Spaniards; the application of which, if it cannot restore to them their native home and country, will at least mitigate the hardships of banishment.

Of course, the dissolution of the constitutional government, and the surrender of Cadiz, was followed by a cessation of all further efforts on the part of the Spanish patriots. The last gleam of hope had vanished; and even the noble-minded

Mina, and his gallant coadjutors, who had defended Catalonia without losing an inch of ground, and whose offensive operations were often successfully directed against the enemies of their country, were compelled to the dire necessity of yielding up all the fortresses they had so bravely maintained. These were all delivered up to French soldiers, but not before the Catalonian hero had stipulated, for himself and fellow-warriors, honourable terms. As for himself, he was conveyed by a French vessel to England, where he arrived about the middle of December, and where he met with a reception which could not but be highly flattering to his feelings.

From the time of his liberation, till the early days of December, Ferdinand's measures had been solely directed by his principal minister and confessor, Saez,—a man who united in himself the bigotry of the priest, and the violent partisan of despotic authority. Suddenly, and with an apparent reluctance on the part of the king, this man has been removed from the direction of the affairs of the state, and a ministry less obnoxious to the general feeling substituted. It is the general opinion, that this change has been effected through the strenuous representations of France and Russia, whose influence at Madrid is paramount. If I could fairly conjecture, that this measure was dictated with a view to the adoption of a representative government in Spain, such as the present state of intelligence in that country requires, I should hail it with feelings of delight. But the intolerant principles adopted by the Holy Alliance, forbid me to hope that their interference has been directed to any other object, than restraining the *excess* of despotism, in order to secure its stability.

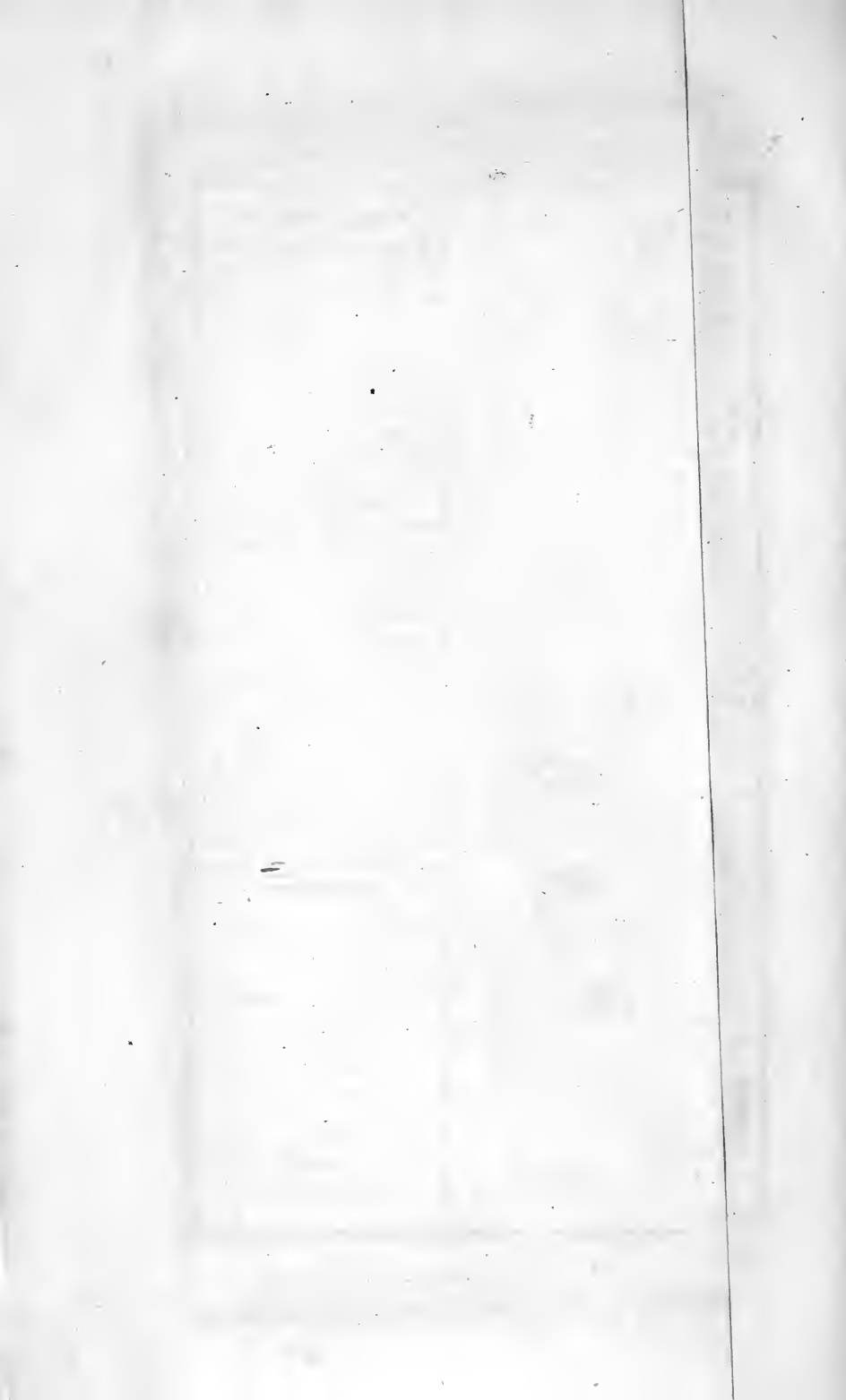
In the mean time, what is to be inferred from the professions of France, and the conduct she is adopting? In its authorized documents, the French government broadly and distinctly announced, that its only object in the invasion was, the restoring the king to his capital, and his subjects to a free capability of choosing their own government. Now the king is in Madrid; those who were denominated his enemies have been scattered—expatriated—and *now*, the French army has taken entire military possession of the kingdom.

The last accounts which I have been able to collect, state, that according to a treaty concluded by the French general

Guilleminot, the French government are to have 40,000 men, and with that force are to occupy, not only the line of fortresses along the Pyrenees, but the most important commercial towns along both the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. St. Sebastian, Pampeluna, Santona, Figueras, Barcelona, are to be garrisoned by Frenchmen; and the ports of Ferrol, Corunna, Cadiz, Malaga, Carthagena, Alicant, and Valentia, are likewise to have French garrisons.

In reviewing the failure of the constitutional cause of Spain, we are first struck with the indiscretion of the government, in not providing against the approximate danger. The cortes, strong in the conviction of the justice of their cause, rested their reliance on the abstract principle, and calculated too confidently on the ebullition of national feeling in their countrymen. Their reliance on the disaffection of the French army, as well as their expectation of an efficient interposition on the part of England, were disappointed. But it cannot be concealed, that the principal causes of their sudden overthrow are to be ascribed to the treachery of their military chiefs, and the opposite sentiments entertained among the population respecting the Constitution. It has been assumed by various writers, that the Spanish nation, from its habits, prejudices, and bigotry, were unfitted for institutions which struck at the root of them all. This is probably a fact. The transition from a government pre-eminently despotic, to one in which kingly authority had little more than a name, was too violent immediately to produce the good that was expected from the change. But, after all, the nation has acquired so much political knowledge, that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Ferdinand, with all the assistance which foreign armies can afford him, to reduce his subjects to that abject state of vassalage in which they were formerly enthralled. For a season, measures of coercion may silence the clamours, and paralyze the efforts of the people, for a liberal government; but occasions will arise in which their voice will be both heard and respected.

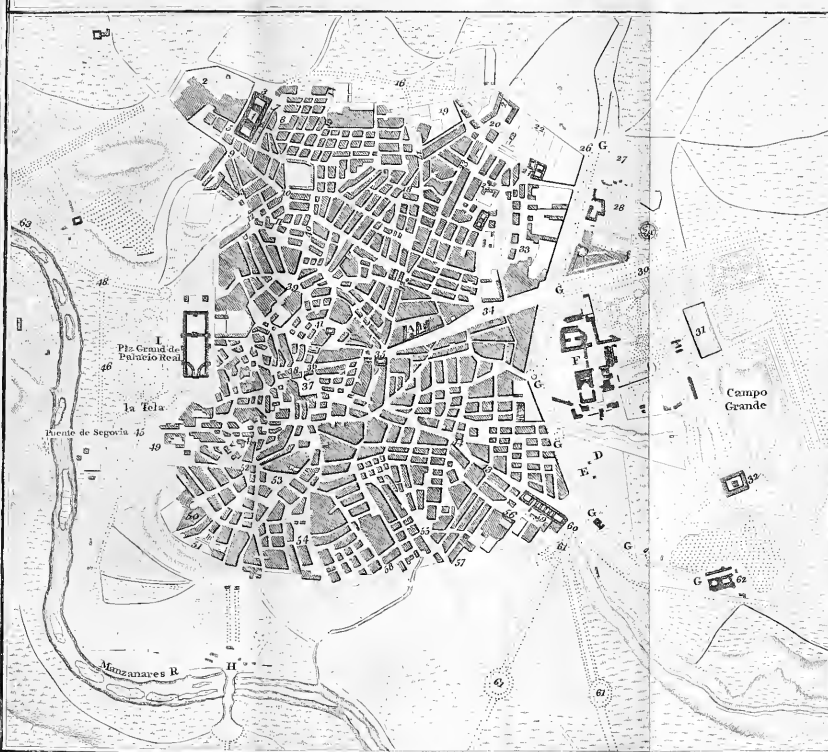
THE END.



Places referred to
by the figures.

- 1 *Puerta de S. Bernardino*
- 2 *Palacio del Duc de Berwick*
- 3 *Puerta del conde Duque*
- 4 *Quáter des Garçons del Corps*
- 5 *Plz del Duq de Liria y Berwick*
- 6 *Plz de los Guárdias de Corps*
- 7 *Plz de S. Juan de nueva*
- 8 *Plz De las Comendadores de Santiago*
- 9 *Plz de los altillos*
- 10 *Plz de las Capuchinas*
- 11 *Plz de los Mostenses*
- 12 *Plz de Leganitos*
- 13 *Cd Leganitos*
- 14 *Puerta de Encarnal*
- 15 *C. S. Bernardo*
- 16 *Puerta de los Pueros*
- 17 *Cd Encarnal*
- 18 *C. de S. Tildónov*
- 19 *Plz de armas del Quareal de Guárdias de Infantería Española*
- 20 *Plz de S.^{ta} Barbara*
- 21 *Puerta de S.^{ta} Barbara*
- 22 *Gm y S^{to} de las Monjas de S. Fr^{nc} de Sales*
- 23 *C. de Anzúez*
- 24 *Plz de la Suletes*
- 25 *Plz del Duqy de Frías*
- 26 *Puerta de Beceletes*
- 27 *Huacas de los Pueros de S.^{ta} P^{ra} Veri*
- 28 *Huacas del Convento de Recoletos*
- 29 *Plz de Torres*
- 30 *Puerta de Media y Registro*
- 31 *Entoque grande*
- 32 *Fabrica Real de la China*
- 33 *Plz de Chancherí*
- 34 *Cd. Alcala*
- 35 *Puerta del Sol*
- 36 *C. Mayor*
- 37 *Plaza Mayor*

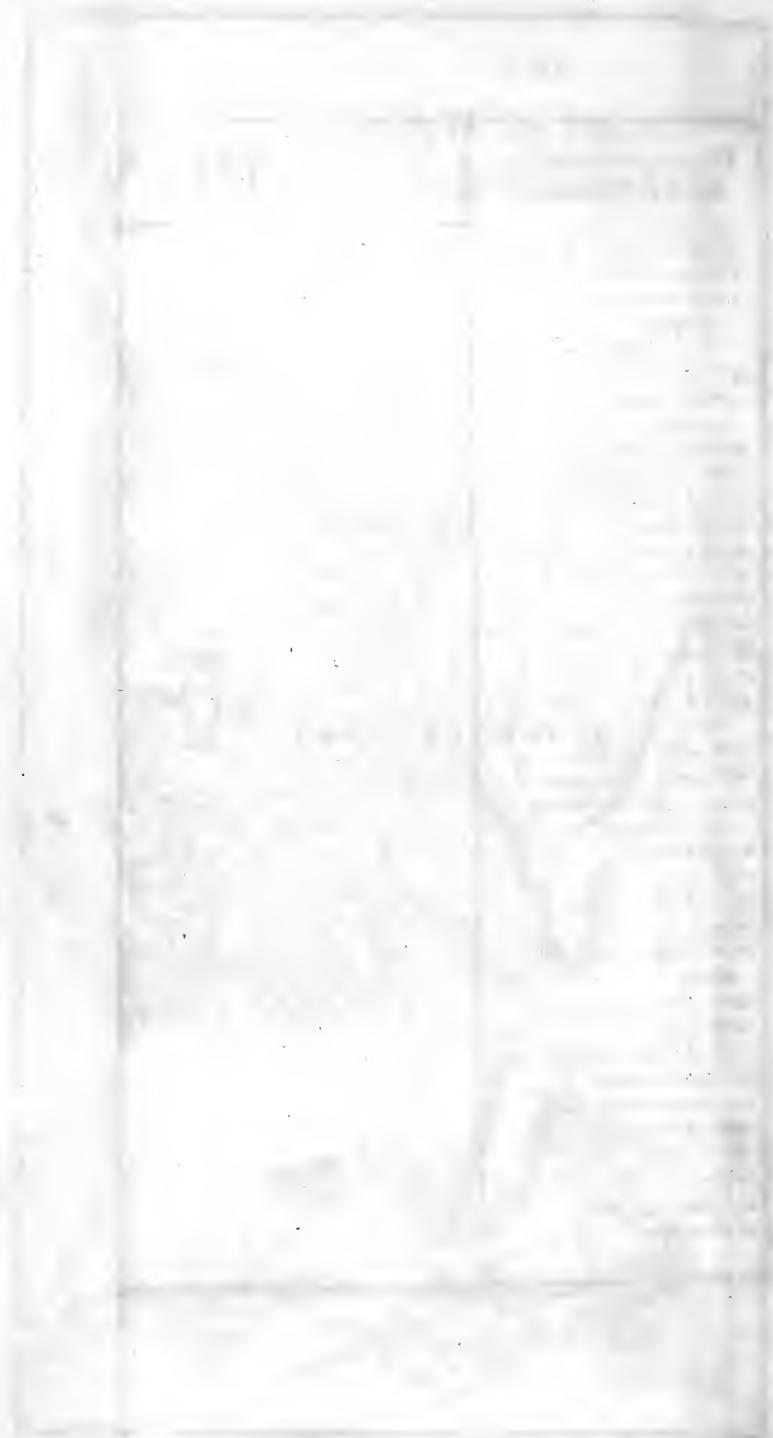
PLAN OF MADRID.



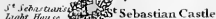
Continuation of
Places referred to.

- 38 Plz de Guadalajara
- 39 Plz de S. Domingo
- 40 C. Incha de S. Bernardo
- 41 Plz de S. Martin
- 42 Cde la mayorez real de S. Incha
- 43 Cde. Incha
- 44 Plz de Avion Martin
- 45 Puerta de Segovia
- 46 Tierra del N.º 5.º de Puerto
- 47 Puasuela de la Comuilla de S. Andres
- 48 Puerta de S. Ylencio
- 49 Barrio y Plz de las Virsillas
- 50 Barrio de S. Francisco
- 51 Puasuela de Anonas
- 52 Puerta de Moros
- 53 Plz de la Cavada
- 54 Cerrillo del Rostro
- 55 Plz y Fuente de Toropues
- 56 Pl de S.ºº Isahrl
- 57 Puerta de Valencia
- 58 Puerta de Enbachaducres
- 59 Hospital General
- 60 Puerto y Registro de Incha
- 61 Paseo de las Rebias
- 62 Convencio de N.º 5.º de Incha
- 63 Chentru du Prado S.ºº Royale

- A *Gabinete de historia natural* . . .
y *Academia de Pura* . . .
B *Aduana* . . .
C *Panadería en su mesa* y *Academia*
de la Historia . . .
D *Jardín Botánico* . . .
E *Invernáculo* . . .
F *Buen Retiro* . . .
G *el Prado* . . .
H *Pont de Toledo* . . .
I *Jardins du Palais qui ne sont*
encore que projets . . .

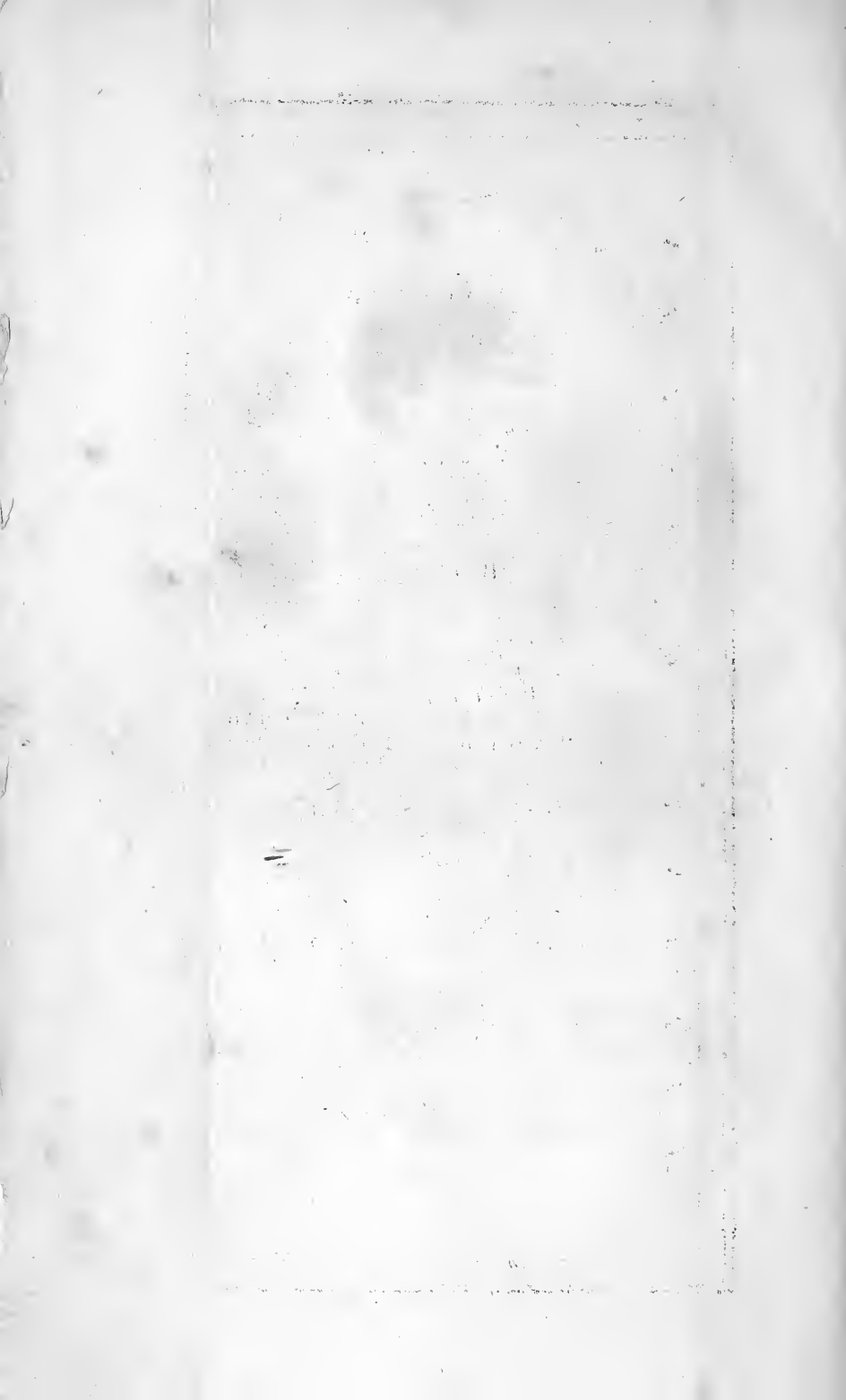


CADIZ.











GENERAL RIEGO.





R. Page, sc.

GENERAL MINA.



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